The Urbanization of Social Justice Through Gender Mainstreaming in Vienna, Austria

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Author's Note

The idea of "gender mainstreaming" was created in the 1990s and relies on outdated notions of gender as a binary construct. For the purpose of my research, I have chosen to use the original conception of gender mainstreaming and its reliance on the gender binary given that the entirety of the theoretical literature and actual implementation of gender mainstreaming relies on a distinction between men and women. As a result, my thesis contains heteronormative ideas of gender.

Abstract

The goal of this thesis is to evaluate different attempts at formulating a theory for how social justice can be achieved in cities. This evaluation is important because the physical elements that make up the design of cities and the people who make the decisions about how to allocate design elements within cities heavily influences the sources of injustice in cities. As such, theories of achieving social justice in cities provide ideas about what aspects of city design produce injustices and how the production of injustice can be mitigated. Chapter 1 identifies theories of social justice that have been part of the conversation about how to implement social justice measures in cities. Chapter 2 discusses spatial justice and the way social justice enters the physical design of cities through spatial planning. Chapter 3 then provides a case study of how social justice has been addressed through the form of gender mainstreaming in Vienna, Austria. Chapter 4 analyzes how the case study is used to demonstrate the ways in which different urban theories can work off of one another to make more just cities. The overall purpose of this thesis is to show how individual social justice theories do not have to present all of the possible ways to achieve more just cities. Rather, a combination of different elements from different theories allows for a more targeted approach to achieving social justice, as the selected elements can be related directly to the situation being addressed.

Chapter 1:

Introduction

Social justice is a contested concept, which means it can be broken down into two parts: the concept and the conception. The first part, the concept, "refers to the unitary idea represented by it and is constituted by a list of core features."[1] The concept of social justice is traditionally understood as "the distribution of benefits and burdens in society."[2] The second part of a contested conception is the conception which refers to the different ways to implement and materialize the concept. The different conceptions of social justice in urban theory is where the contest occurs, meaning there is a debate over how social justice can be actualized and achieved in cities.[3] Put simply, the concept "poses and names the problem," and the conceptions "propose and specify the solution."[4]

The following sections of this chapter outline the various competing conceptions of social justice in urban theory. I explore David Harvey's theory of Territorial Justice, John Rawls' theory of Distributive Justice, the five faces of oppression proposed by Iris Marion Young, and the Right to the City theory proposed by Henri Lefebvre. All of these theories begin from the same, shared conceptual meaning of social justice which is the

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[1] Stefano Moroni, "The Just City. Three Background Issues: Institutional Justice and Spatial Justice, Social Justice and Distributive Justice, Concept of Justice and Conception of Justice," *Planning Theory* 19, no. 3 (2019): 259.

[2] Emil Israel and Amnon Frenkel, "Social Justice and Spatial Inequality," *Progress in Human Geography* 42, no. 5 (2017): 648.

[3] Klara Helene Stumpf, Christian U. Becker, and Stefan Baumgärtner, "The Conceptual Structure of Justice– Providing a Tool to Analyse Conceptions of Justice," *Ethical Theory Moral Practice* 19, no. 5 (2016): 1189.

[4] Moroni, 259.

distribution of benefits and burdens in society. These various theories, however, differ in what they view as the proper conceptions of social justice.

Territorial Justice

In David Harvey's 1973 work, *Social Justice and the City*, Harvey further elaborates on the term "territorial justice," originally coined by Bleddyn Davies in 1968, by providing a more urban-focused approach to understanding social justice in the city. Additionally, Harvey's argument is based on the idea that "territorial distributive justice automatically implies individual justice."[5] What Harvey is saying is that achieving a just spatial distribution of benefits and burdens throughout a territory (city, region, state, etc.) is necessary to achieving social justice in a city. Harvey's central argument is that conceptions of social justice in the city need to evaluate the distribution of resources among, "individuals, groups, organizations, and territories" while also evaluating "the mechanisms which are used to accomplish this distribution."[6] Put another way, there needs to be "a specification of just distribution justly arrived at."[7] With this goal, Harvey first outlines *what* exactly needs to be distributed and then explores *who* exactly this distribution is concerned with.

To begin to understand social justice, one needs to first discern what is meant by a "just distribution". Distribution involves a series of ethical and moral decisions that must be made to determine who should have what kinds of claims to the resources in their

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[5] David Harvey, "Social Justice and Spatial Systems" in *Social Justice and the City.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973, 101.

[6] Harvey, 98.

[7] Harvey, 98.

society.[8] This determination defines the foundation for what should be included in the conceptions of social justice. Further, there are certain criteria that have been suggested by previous scholars as a way to evaluate these claims:[9]

Criterion	Definition
Inherent equality	All individuals have equal claims on benefits irrespective of their contribution.
Valuation of services in terms of supply and demand	Individuals who command scarce and needed resources have a greater claim than do others.
Need	Individuals have rights to equal levels of benefit which means that there is an unequal allocation according to need.
Inherent rights	Individuals have claims according to the property or other rights which have been passed on to them from preceding generations.
Merit	Claims may be based on the degree of difficulty to be overcome in contributing to production (those who undertake dangerous or unpleasant tasks— such as mining— and those who undertake long periods of training— such as surgeons— have greater claims than do others).
Contribution to common good	Those individuals whose activities benefit most people have a higher claim than do those whose activities benefit few people.
Actual productive contribution	Individuals who produce more output—measured in some appropriate way— have a greater claim than do those who produce a lesser output.
Effort and sacrifices	Individuals who make a greater effort or incur a greater sacrifice relative to their innate capacity should be rewarded more than those who make little effort and incur few sacrifices.

[8] Harvey, 99.

[9] Harvey, 100.

Harvey, following the work of Bleddyn Davies, suggests that conceptions of social justice involve three of the criteria listed above: Need, contribution to common good, and merit.[10] These criteria have weak ordering in terms of their importance with need as the most important and merit as the least important. With these three criteria, Harvey posits that an understanding of each of the criteria and their relation to territories or regions is needed in order to form a theory of territorial justice. These three criteria can be used to create procedures that allow for the evaluation and measure of distribution. Additionally, this combination of need, contribution to common good, and merit also allows for a theoretical model that can be used for resource allocation in a region and further can be used to evaluate existing systems of allocation. The following three paragraphs discuss each of these criteria in greater detail.

"Need" is a relative concept, meaning that there is not a constant definition because certain groups of people have specific requirements at different points in time. Therefore, it is a difficult task to decide what people actually need, what those needs are relative to, and what causes those needs. But, these considerations must be fully explored and explained in order to understand how the specific needs of a region can be met. There are, however, nine basic needs that are usually shared among most groups of people and also need to be met: Food, housing, medical care, education, social and environmental services, consumer goods, recreational opportunities, neighborhood amenities, and

[10] Harvey, 100.

transport facilities.[11] To meet the needs of a population, there must be an equitable system of determining what the needs of a specific region are, and then figuring out how those needs can be adequately measured.[12] Following this determination, "the difference between needs and actual allocations provides us with an initial evaluation of the degree of territorial injustice in an existing system."[13] With those considerations in mind, territorial justice is achieved when the allocation of resources effectively satisfies the basic needs of the people in a specific region.

"Contribution to common good" means that there are conscious considerations for how the allocation of resources to one region has an effect on other regions. Territorial justice is maximized when the organization of space and the corresponding allocation of resources provides positive spillover of social benefits to other areas with specific needs that have not been addressed.[14] An example of a contribution to the common good could be the creation of a new public school. A new school has the intended effect of providing the region with a place to educate their children. But, the benefits of a public school extend far beyond just the immediate school-age group. Schools provide jobs for teachers, public resources such as technology, community gathering spaces, and many other benefits that extend beyond just the immediate intended population.

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[11] Harvey, 102.

[12] Harvey, 107.

[13] Harvey, 107.

[14] Harvey, 108-109.

"Merit" recognizes that certain deviations from the typical patterns of investment in a region can be justified if additional resources are needed to overcome especially difficult situations that are caused by the physical or social environment.[15] For instance, it would be justified to build special types of infrastructure, such as concrete ports, in areas that are prone to hurricanes.[16] In a social context, it would be justified to provide extra resources to groups who do not have control over their social position because "individuals need adequate security if they are to be able to contribute meaningfully to the common good and if they are able to allocate their productive capacity to fulfill needs."[17] For example, the allocation of healthcare facilities and education to lower income groups is an acceptable deviation from the typical patterns of investments because good health and access to education is necessary to being able to contribute to the common good and to have the productive capacity to fulfill needs.[18]

The second part of Harvey's argument concerns who should receive the distribution of resources. The overall goal is to devise a system that ensures a "socially just means for arriving at" a socially just distribution.[19] Accordingly, this component of territorial justice is concerned with the processes that make up resource allocation in regard to institutional, organizational, political, and economic factors.[20] Thus, one needs

[15] Harvey, 116.

[16] Harvey, 106.

[17] Harvey, 107.

[18] Harvey, 107.

[19] Harvey, 108.

[20] Harvey, 116.

to consider how these entities positively and negatively affect distribution. For example, gerrymandering is a product of unjust, politically-motivated drawing of boundaries that seeks to limit the political power of lower income areas.[21] Political power is an important resource and its allocation should not be subject to manipulation for political gain. This aspect of territorial justice is almost entirely dependent on the context in which it is being applied. When one is applying these considerations to a specific context, however, the goal is that "the prospects of the least advantaged territory are as great as they possibly can be."[22] In summary, one must first determine and measure the needs, contributions to the common goods, and merits of a region. Then, one must ensure that the mechanisms that determine the allocations of the benefits and burdens associated with the needs, contributions to the common good, and merits are executed in a just way. Upon satisfying those steps, territorial justice can be achieved in a region.

Now that we have discussed the components of territorial justice, I am now going to turn to an evaluation of each of the components. Territorial justice has important implications in terms of identifying the claims that should be central to any consideration of social justice. As noted earlier, Harvey states that the three criteria have a weak ordering with need being the most important, contribution to the common good being next, and merit being the least important. This weak ordering means that need should always be considered and contribution to the common good is also important. But, merit is not needed in all situations. In fact, merit is only a necessary consideration "if a facility

[21] Harvey, 111.

[22] Harvey, 117.

is needed, if it contributes to the common good in some way, *then and only then* would we be justified in allocating extra resources for its support."[23] Therefore, need and contribution to the common good provide a more universal analysis of social justice and merit is an additional consideration when the situation requires such evaluations.

Need does present some difficulties when it comes to distinguishing between the needs of certain groups based on racial and gender characteristics. In this regard, the idea of need is underdeveloped because different identities have vastly different needs when it comes to a just city. A simple recognition that needs of a group have to be considered is not enough. A more effective way to theorize about needs would be to provide ways that needs can be measured when it comes to not only physical needs but also social needs. This idea is particularly important when it comes to creating a just system of distribution because different minority groups have been historically disadvantaged in many *different* ways. To put it another way, gerrymandering has historically disadvantaged Black, lower income communities because of the lasting legacies of segregation. At the same time, political power has also been systematically stripped from the LGBTQIA+ community, but that source of disadvantage is independent of the unjust geographic boundaries found in gerrymandering. As such, the need aspect of territorial justice is limited in that it can identify geographic sources of injustice (gerrymandering) but is not fully able to capture other, non-geographic sources of injustice. Consequently, considering need is important but cannot be used as the sole means of evaluating the discrepancies in resource allocation.

[23] Harvey, 106.

Contribution to the common good is important in terms of how resources can be designed. For instance, community centers and schools are a good example of multi-purpose structures that could greatly advance the availability of resources for a particular region. Logistically, contribution to the common good is valuable in the conversation about how to make cities more just.

As discussed above, merit is important when the situation demands it. Therefore, merit can be thought of as a conditional criterion. Merit is a valuable consideration in locations that are prone to natural disasters, such as providing more resources to the cities along the Gulf of Mexico to help build the proper infrastructure for hurricanes. Similarly, merit could also be valuable in determining how to allocate resources to groups who need additional resources to overcome social positions that are beyond their control. The evaluation of merit, however, is a considerably difficult task because there is not a uniform agreement on what people *deserve* especially in a politically polarized country, such as the United States. Therefore, merit considerations would be hard to translate into concrete action items that could be applicable in all situations. Although merit provides an important additional form of evaluation, the use of merit as a criterion in a social justice theory would have to be heavily dependent on the situation and the actors involved.

The second part of territorial justice, the processes that govern decision-making, is integral to an understanding of social justice. This part of the theory provides a possible way to overcome the limitations of need when it comes to measuring and responding to the needs of minority groups. An example of this could be to have representatives from a

particular minority group in the decision-making processes to ensure that all voices are being heard.

Distributive Justice

In addition to Harvey's concept and conceptualization of social justice, other scholars have proposed their own conceptions of social justice. These different conceptions are not always specifically spatial nor are they always meant to be applied to urban theory. A spatial aspect is important for urban theories of social justice because the implications of the theories are being applied in the physical spaces of cities. Therefore, it is valuable to have a spatial perspective because the components of the conception of social justice can be more easily applied to the built infrastructure of cities. Although these next conceptions are not specifically spatial, they are important to consider in their relation to how resources are distributed, how decision-making power is determined, and how social justice actualizes within cities.

The idea of distributive justice comes from John Rawls' 1971 work *A Theory of Justice*. Rawls' central argument is that justice in a society can be measured by how certain primary goods are distributed within the society. Primary goods are income, wealth, and basic freedoms such as "freedom of thought and consciousness, freedom of movement, and equality of opportunity."[24] As such, a just society is one that has reached a point where the distribution of primary goods is most favorable for the least fortunate, "and when the more advantaged are contributing to meet the expectations of the least

[24] Israel and Frenkel, "Social Justice and Spatial Inequality," 649.

advantaged."[25] A tangible representation of distributive justice can be thought of as it relates to the accessibility of public space. A distributive justice perspective would deem a society just, in regard to allocation of public space, if everyone in that society had an equitable opportunity to access and engage in public spaces. While this is a simplified, one-dimensional example of distributive justice, it captures the general notion of the theory; social justice is achieved when the distribution of resources is equitable.

The distributive justice theory has limitations. Iris Marion Young's 1990 work, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, identified those limitations and argued that "it is a mistake to reduce social justice to distribution."[26] A key problem is that distributive justice approaches forces conversations about social justice to be considered in regard to solely assignable entities such as income, resources, or even social positions like jobs. Centering the conversation on the goods themselves, however, disregards the institutional context that dictate the patterns of distribution.

The institutional context is composed of "any structures or practices, the rules and norms that guide them, and the language and symbols that mediate social interactions with them, in institutions of state, family, and civil society, as well as the workplace."[27] The institutional context is important to consider in regard to social justice because these institutions determine, "what there is to distribute, how it gets distributed, who

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[25] Edward W. Soja, "Building a Spatial Theory of Justice" in *Seeking Spatial Justice*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010, 76, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[26] Young, Iris Marion, "Displacing the Distributive Paradigm," *Justice and the Politics of Difference,* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1990), 15, Kindle.

[27] Young, 21.

distributes, and what the distributive outcome is."[28] Consequently, a theory of distribution without considerations for how distribution occurs is inherently inadequate to use to evaluate social justice. Thus, a theory of social justice needs some component of procedural evaluation.

Five Faces of Oppression

Iris Marion Young proposes a competing concept and conception of social justice in their work *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. To develop her concept of social justice, Young first identifies what constitutes a good life as "developing and exercising one's capacities and expressing one's experience" and "participating in determining one's action and the conditions of one's action."[29] Young then argues that social justice and the values of a good life are intricately connected insofar as social justice, "concerns the degree to which a society contains and supports the institutional conditions necessary for the realization of these values."[30] Said another way, an integral component of social justice is the values of a good life which are one's ability to: cultivate their capacities; give voice to their experiences; and to utilize their personal autonomy. Social justice in a society can then be evaluated based on the degree to which a society provides the necessary tools for one to manifest the values of a good life.

Young then provides a conception of social justice in the manner of identifying oppression, and its five faces, as the conceptions of injustice. Oppression refers to the

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[28] Young, 22.

[29] Young, 37.

[30] Young, 37.

inhibition of individuals' "ability to develop and exercise their capacities and express their needs, thoughts, and feelings."[31] Young proposed five faces of oppression: Exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence. Exploitation is concerned with how class systems in society facilitate the process of very few accumulating wealth and those few then restricting the majority from accumulating similar amounts of wealth. This process occurs through employment and everyday societal relations. Exploitation is often thought of as in terms of the transfer that happens between workers and employers. In some cases, workers give their labor and do not receive a comparable benefit or compensation relative to the benefit or profit that employers receive as a result of the workers' labor. The dynamic between workers and employers in capitalist societies can create perpetual cycles of inequality where the wealth produced by many workers is concentrated in the hands of a small number of employers. The result of this exploitation is the drastic wealth gaps between upper, middle, and lower classes in various capitalist societies. Marginalization refers to how certain segments of the population lack the ability to fully participate in society and also lack equitable access to societal resources. Powerlessness explores how certain groups experience the revocation of their political power, participation, representation, and capacity for self-expression and this is often taken away based on gender, class, race, or any other social identity. Cultural imperialism is concerned with how a group or a culture will completely overshadow and block the presence of other cultures and groups. Violence examines how social and institutional practices perpetuate and allow harmful

[31] Young, 40.

acts in everyday life.[32] Young spends considerable time exploring these different faces of oppression because often theories of oppression think of oppression as one-dimensional when instead, oppression takes on many forms for different groups. The different faces are intended to reduce the chances of exclusions and reductions of certain groups which often happens when there is only one, unified theory of oppression.[33] Therefore, Young argues that social justice can be achieved by reducing the different forms of oppression in society that cause social injustices.

The Right to the City

The right to the city is another conception of social justice that seeks to identify what an equitable society looks like based on who has access to the city. French philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre coined the phrase right to the city in the year 1968 in his work, *Le Droit à la ville*, which was later translated to English in 1996. The central idea for Lefebvre is that the city is an oeuvre, a French word meaning "a substantial body of work constituting the lifework of a writer, an artist, or a composer" ("oeuvre"). In this regard, the city reflects the lifelong work of its people and is, "a work produced through the labor and the daily actions of those who live in the city."[34] Thus, the right to the city is a right to live in and enjoy the product of your work free from alienation and with the ability to have their voice heard in discussion about how to

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[32] Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice,* 79.

[33] Young, 63.

[34] Kafui A. Attoh, "What Kind of Right is the Right to the City?," *Progress In Human Geography* 35, no. 5 (2011): 674.

continually change and develop your city for the better. The right to the city has been seen as a loosely defined right that takes on different meanings for different groups of people. The proponents of this open definition argue that the loosely defined nature, "can serve to unify the struggles of various marginalized groups around a common rallying cry."[35] For instance, the openness of the right to the city can "allow us to see rights to housing, rights against police abuse, rights to public participation in urban design, rights against established property laws, or rights to a communal good like aesthetics, as necessarily connected."[36] This openness does produce issues in terms of how to implement such an ambiguous and large-spanning idea. Additionally, the way this right is defined has important implications for how this right is guaranteed. Therefore, for the sake of this thesis, I have chosen an approach to defining the right to the city that was produced by the United Nations (UN).

In May 1976, the United Nations hosted its first United Nations Conference on Human Settlement, also known as the Habitat I Conference, in Vancouver, Canada. The conference was created because government leaders around the world noticed how cities were experiencing rapid levels of development of infrastructure and this development was not being regulated in ways that would ensure sustainability of these cities. In October 2016, the United Nations had their third conference Habitat III in Quito, Ecuador. As a part of the conference proceedings, a policy paper titled, "The Right to the City and Cities for All," was created and the paper uses the right to the city framework to

[35] Attoh, 674.

[36] Attoh, 674.

explore how sustainable development can be achieved by forming three pillars of the right to the city: Spatially just resource distribution, political agency, and social, economic, and cultural diversity.[37]

The first pillar is spatially just resource distribution. The right to the city means that the social and spatial distribution and planning of resources is done in a way that guarantees equitable and adequate living conditions for everyone in the community. The policy paper notes that these living conditions need to be:

> accessible in both formal and informal sectors and areas, are defined by acceptable quality standards, and include: public space and the urban commons; investment in basic infrastructures and services (e.g. water, electricity, waste, and sanitation); appropriate, accessible, and affordable transportation options; appropriate and dignified housing and settlements; equitable livelihoods, opportunities, and decent jobs, including solidarity and circular economy initiatives; education; healthcare; and investment in the preservation of ecosystems and biodiversity, and in climate change protection.[38]

Beyond providing requirements for equitable and adequate living conditions, this pillar also recognizes that all people are affected by and contribute to the distribution of resources. Therefore, ensuring an equal right to the city means being aware of how marginalized groups may experience greater difficulties in receiving necessary resources and then putting mechanisms in place to make sure these barriers are reduced significantly.[39]

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[37] United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development, Habitat III Policy Papers: Policy Paper 1 The Right to the City and Cities for All (New York: United Nations, 2017), www.habitat3.org.

[38] United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development, 27.

[39] United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development, 27.

The second pillar is political agency. The right to the city can only be achieved "when structures, processes, and policies enable all inhabitants as social and political actors to exercise the full content and meaning of citizenship."[40] In essence, there need to be structures in place that ensure marginalized groups have an equitable level of access to political agency. Equal access to political agency also ensures that everyone has a part in the developments and changes that shape their living environment. The goal of this pillar is to reduce the amount of control that capital and state elites have when it comes to decisions about how a city and its spaces are organized and managed. This pillar also intends to guide development through decision-making to reconfigure "urban space, land, and property in a manner that maximizes use value for all inhabitants" by requiring "transparency, accountability, and the democratization of data for decision-making and all allocation of opportunities and resources."[41]

The third pillar is social, economic, and cultural diversity because the right to the city "fully embraces diversity and difference in gender, identity, ethnicity, religion, heritage, collective memory, cultural and economic practices, and sociocultural expression."[42] This pillar recognizes that a shared knowledge and appreciation of different identities is integral to the formation of a city suited for all. Furthermore, it is

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[40] United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development, 27.

[41] United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development, 27.

[42] United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development, 27.

important for cities to have possibilities for different identities to interact and engage with each other in public spaces.[43]

The right to the city as a theoretical consideration is important to social justice because it emphasizes the importance of ensuring that everyone has access to their city. Within this broad consideration, there are extensive layers that explore potential obstacles to the city and sources of unequal access. Therefore, the right to the city provides an important way of thinking about social justice. In addition to the theoretical considerations, the three pillars put forth by the United Nations provide an additional, more concrete way to think about what access to the city truly means.

Having now reviewed four different conceptions of social justice, we can better understand how and why social justice is a contested concept. This understanding provides a foundation upon which I build in the next chapter. Territorial justice, distributive justice, the five faces of oppression, and the right to the city will be put in conversation with one another as a means to build the conception of social justice that is being evaluated in my thesis, Spatial Justice theory.

[43] United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development, 27.

Chapter 2:

Spatial Justice, Spatial Planning, and Gender

In this chapter, I will place the conversation about social justice into an urban context. This positioning requires that I first explain the increased focus on space through a process known as the spatial turn. Then, I will introduce another conception of social justice, referred to as spatial justice, that is directly tied to urban theory. Finally, I will provide a connection between spatial justice (and the general idea of social justice in the city) and the processes of urban planning.

Space and the Spatial Turn

Aside from David Harvey's work, the concept and conceptions of social justice were not widely considered in the physical, urban context until the "spatial turn" in the 1980s. The spatial turn occurred across numerous academic fields and broadly marked a shift towards spatial thinking, which involves giving a greater importance to people's relationships with physical space. The spatial turn also marked a departure from the previous, purely historical perspective that was the primary perspective in academic research.[44] While historical perspectives are important, history by itself should not be the sole explanatory focus of human existence. The argument for a spatial perspective is that humans are as much spatial beings as they are temporal ones.[45] Additionally, the abstract ideas of space and time with their "more concrete and socially constructed extensions as geography and history" make up "the most fundamental and encompassing qualities of

[44] Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice,*16.

[45] Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice,*16.

the physical and social worlds in which we live."[46] Therefore, the spatial turn is simply the realization that spatial considerations need to be alongside temporal considerations (like history) in order to have a more comprehensive understanding of human existence.

A contributing factor to the spatial turn in the 1980s was Henri Lefebvre's work, *The Production of Space*, in which he proposes an entirely novel way to think about space. Previously, space had been thought of as an abstract container that was meant to hold human construction whether that meant theoretical ideas and concepts or meant more literal, physical buildings.[47] Lefebvre, however, challenged us to think about space as the end instead of as a means to an end. In this regard, space is a resulting product of human creation. The ideas, concepts, and buildings that are created in physical space create a metaphysical conception of space that demands our attention.

To examine this metaphysical conception of space, Lefebvre presents a three-part understanding of space in terms of its physical, mental, and social forms. These three dimensions form a conceptual triad: Representations of Space, Representational Space, and Spatial Practices. Representations of Space are the conceived spaces formed by those in power. Although lacking a physical form, conceived space is where planners, bureaucrats, and dominant societal forces shape and dictate who gets to use public space and how those spaces ought to be used. Conceived space is the dominant form of social space and "the study of discourses and official documents (e.g., official city plans,

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[46] Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice,*15.

[47] Sandra Huning, Tanja Mölders, and Barbara Zibell, "Gender, Space and Development: An Introduction to Concepts and Debates," in *Gender Approaches to Spatial Development in Europe: Perspectives, Similarities, Differences*, ed. Ulrike Sturm, Doris Damyanovic, and Barbara Zibell, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2019), pp. 1-23.

planning strategies, strategic planning reports, public policies, etc.) can reveal the ideologies in action in the conceived space; what occupations, according to those in power, should be done in certain spaces and how."[48] Representational Space, or lived space, is the physical space where actual human activity takes place. The everyday lives and the experiences of those who use these spaces are influential and produce meaning that is shown in various forms of expression such as artistic and cultural expression.[49] In this way, representational space is made up of physical objects that are used to symbolize and represent the user groups whether that be in the form of graffiti or a public protest. Spatial Practices, or perceived space, are the relationships people make with their physical environment. Spatial Practices are somewhat of an intermediary between conceived space and lived space. Planners and architects may create parts of the physical environment, such as public plazas, with a distinct idea of what that space is meant to do. But, individuals' perceptions and usages of the space may imbue a drastically different meaning on that same space.[50] The conceptual spatial triad is meant to bring together the notion of space as physical structures with the ideas of space as an amalgamation of social processes "shaped by individuals' conceptualisations, perceptions and everyday

[48] Anne-Cécile Delaisse, Suzanne Huot, and Luisa Veronis, "Conceptualizing the Role of Occupation in the Production of Space," *Journal of Occupational Science*, 2020: 6, https://doi.org/10.1080/14427591.2020.1802326.

[49] Eugene J. McCann, "Race, Protest, and Public Space: Contextualizing Lefebvre in the U.S. City," *Antipode* 31, no. 2 (1999): pp. 163-184, https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8330.00098.

[50] McCann, 173.

lives."[51] As a result, space is never truly finished because it is constantly being "updated by new social and material interventions as well as by new representations."[52]

Lefebvre's work revolutionized spatial thinking. The meaning of space extended beyond just being considered the background of human life and could now be understood as an integral product of human activity. Lefebvre's relational concepts of space coupled with the spatial turn provides the backdrop for the American geographer Edward Soja's 2010 work, *Seeking Spatial Justice*.

Spatial Justice

The Spatial Justice theory is an additional conception of social justice that differs from the previously mentioned conceptions along a few meaningful dimensions. First, spatial justice is considerably newer than the other theories by about thirty to forty years. The novelty of spatial justice means that the theory captures the strengths and limitations of previous conceptions of social justice and provides an evaluation of the previous conceptions as they relate to one another. Accordingly, spatial justice presents a synthesis of the developments of social justice as a contested concept. Second, spatial justice "theory" is a loose framework, or a collection of ideas. In this way, spatial justice is different in that it is extremely vague and painfully broad. However, this vagueness is intentional and makes spatial justice theory valuable. A fully fleshed out, step-by-step formula of how to achieve social justice could not be properly applied to every social justice related issue because, as David Harvey mentioned, different groups need different

[51] Huning, Mölders, and Zibell, 7.

[52] Huning, Mölders, and Zibell, 7.

things. As such, the previous conceptions of social justice fall short in terms of being equally applicable to all instances in which cities may be unjust. Spatial justice, on the other hand, provides a way of thinking about social justice related problems and also proposes multiple ways to fix these problems. This way of thinking is then meant to be applied to specific situations and modified to fit the demands of that particular situation. This means that spatial justice requires more user participation in terms of applying the theory. However, this participation is necessary in order to effectively evaluate the problems of the situation and then identify the specific ways those problems can be addressed.

In his work, Soja utilizes a spatial perspective to explore the physical manifestations of social justice. The result is "spatial justice." While spatial justice is not an entirely new idea, Soja's work is widely recognized as the primary conceptual basis of the spatial justice theory. Soja does not provide a neatly developed theory nor framework of spatial justice. Instead, Soja's work outlines the importance of thinking about justice spatially, the possibilities of how injustices can be remedied in space, and the overall objective of spatial justice.

Recognizing the importance and implications of space allows us to be aware of how our geographies are often the cause of injustice. Soja argues that "the geographies in which we live can intensify and sustain our exploitation as workers, support oppressive forms of cultural and political domination based on race, gender, and nationality, and aggravate all forms of discrimination and injustice."[53] But, these geographies of injustice

[53] Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice,* 19.

are socially created which means they can be changed. We cannot, however, seek to fix inequalities until we are able to realize how our geographies produce the inequalities.

To conceptualize how unjust geographies are formed, Soja begins his work with this quote:

> "Just as none of us is beyond geography, none of us is completely free from the struggle over geography. That struggle is complex and interesting because it is not only about soldiers and cannons but also about ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings."
> -Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 1993[54]

This quote sets up Soja's first point which is that the concept and conceptions of justice have a spatial dimension, or what he calls "consequential geographies," meaning that justice and injustice imprint themselves upon and are embedded in the physical geography of cities. Therefore, thinking about justice in spatial terms is imperative because the physical geography is "a vital part of how justice and injustice are socially constructed and evolve over time."[55] In connection to the previously noted quote from Edward Said, the spatiality of justice and injustice is especially visible in the struggle over geography in terms of how society shapes and distributes space. In order to effectively achieve social justice, we need to first understand how and why consequential geographies are formed so that we are then able to identify how they can be changed.

Soja posits that unjust geographies are the result of a few underlying processes: Locational discrimination, the political organizations of space, and redistributive injustice. The first, locational discrimination, is one source of injustice in which specific

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[54] Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice,*1.

[55] Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice,*1.

biases are placed on a population simply because of where they live. These biases lead to the creation of injustices through the "lasting spatial structures of privilege and advantage."[56] Locational discrimination is typically based on the discrimination of people based on their class, race, and gender[57]. An example of locational discrimination is what is often considered environmental racism, which is the "tendency for poor and minority populations, especially African Americans, to suffer disproportionately from air and water pollution and the siting of hazardous or toxic facilities."[58] African American and other minority populations often find themselves in these environmentally hazardous locations because of how city planning has historically placed these groups on the outskirts of cities as well as how city planning places hazardous and toxic facilities in areas with these populations.

The next process that produces injustice is the political organization of space which takes on two different forms: Exogenous geographies and endogenous geographies. Exogenous geographies are those that follow a top-down path of development and have immense influence from external factors. These forces create unjust geographies by unequal drawings of territorial boundaries and imposing hierarchical power.[59]

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[56] Edward W. Soja, "The City and Spatial Justice," March 14, 2008: 3, https://www.jssj.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/JSSJ1-1en4.pdf.

[57] Soja, "The City and Spatial Justice," 3.

[58] Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice,* 52.

[59] Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice,* 47.

The commonplace example of exogenous geographies is colonial and postcolonial rule. The forced segregation of populations and the concentration of wealth for the colonizers at the expense of the colonized leave lasting structures of disadvantages even after the colonizers leave. These geographies of disadvantage that colonialism produce are often called the development of "underdevelopment" in which "underdevelopment processes actively involve the creation of discriminatory urban and regional built environments and a restrictive political organization of space that fix in place a persistent geography of dependent development, cultural domination and efficient economic exploitation."[60]

The other type of political organizations of space are endogenous geographies which are bottom-up processes that concern locational decision making that lead to unjust distributive practices. The idea of endogenous geographies is essentially the third type of process of producing unjust geographies which is concerned with redistributive injustice. Soja provides an example of this process by considering how healthcare is distributed throughout cities such as doctors, hospitals, clinics, and other healthcare services. Equal spatial distribution of these resources is virtually impossible but the unequal distribution of these resources is often more than just a geographical problem and is a matter of locational decisions being made to benefit certain groups at the expense of other groups. For instance, "budget requirements, institutional inefficiency, personal greed, racial bigotry, differential wealth and social power, and a host of other factors add to this basic distributional inequality, creating locationally biased and hence discriminatory

[60] Soja, S*eeking Spatial Justice,* 40.

geographies of accessibility to health services and perhaps more seriously to public health itself."[61] This idea of purposeful unequal distribution occurs in other public services such as "education, mass transit, police and crime prevention, to more privatized provisioning of adequate food, housing, and employment."[62] These processes continue throughout time and form patterns of lasting inequalities. Therefore, endogenous geographies and redistributive injustice are sources of uneven development of geographies.

With the understanding of how unjust geographies are formed, we can then begin to think about how injustices can be remedied in space. The different conceptions of social justice discussed in Chapter 1 provide possibilities for how social justice can be actualized in space. Within the spatial justice context, Rawls' distributive justice theory has limitations. Specifically, Soja notes that distributive justice theory is aspatial and ahistorical because the theory is meant to be applied universally with no regard to the location nor the time period it is being applied.[63] The critiques of distributive justice theory, however, help form more comprehensive geographical theories of justice because spatial justice is concerned with "the fair and equitable distribution in space of socially valued resources and the opportunities to use them."[64] To demonstrate how the critiques of distributive justice theory further the discussion of spatial justice, Soja turns to Iris Young's work. Soja notes that Young's work is impactful because of how she heavily

[61] Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice,* 47.

[62] Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice,* 47.

[63] Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice,* 76.

[64] Soja, "The City and Spatial Justice," 2.

emphasizes the need to put conversations about justice "in more concrete geographical, historical, and institutional terms," especially through her five faces of oppression.[65] Soja notes that David Harvey's work on territorial justice was integral to the later formation of spatial justice. Soja does, however, slightly critique Harvey by saying that Harvey privileges "the determinative effects of social forces such as capital accumulation" when it comes to "the causal power of urban spatiality and the relation between social and spatial processes."[66] Soja brings up this critique by comparing David Harvey's work with Henri Lefebvre's work. Soja opts to sway more in favor of Lefebvre's work as it pertains to the right to the city. Soja maintains that the right to the city is central to the understanding and the construction of spatial justice theory. Soja notes that the right to the city is a more understandable and attainable goal when it comes to policy initiatives. This idea is further supported by the United Nations' recognition of the importance of the right to the city. Although the right to the city and spatial justice are two separate concepts, Soja comments that the two concepts are used interchangeably and maintain similar objectives.[67]

The justice aspect of spatial justice incorporates different components from the previous conceptions of social justice. The collection and usage of different concepts makes for a more comprehensive idea of what social justice should mean and how it

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[65] Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice,* 78.

[66] Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice,* 100.

[67] Justice spatiale - Spatial justice, Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense, *Justice Spatiale - Spatial Justice, Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense*, September 28, 2017, http://www.jssj.org/article/la-justice-spatiale-et-ledroit-a-la-ville-un-entretien-avec-edward-soja/.ffhalshs-01108684f.

should be achieved. Spatial justice is preferable compared to the previously mentioned conception of social justice because spatial justice emphasizes that there is no "one-size-fits-all" approach when it comes to achieving social justice.

Soja purposely leaves the theory of spatial justice vague and not definitive because fully fleshed out theories of social justice cannot be widely applied and are often incorrectly applied to situations that need different considerations. Spatial justice, however, takes into account different situations. For instance, distributive justice by itself is insufficient because it fails to consider the processes that determine distribution. But, spatial justice does recognize that there needs to be equitable distribution of resources within a region. Next, the limitations of distributive justice bring up even more important issues such as the processes that govern distribution in spaces. Soja demonstrates how processes shape geography. With this broad idea of the three different ways geographies are formed, one can take that information and apply it to distribution to make sure the distribution patterns carefully consider how existing power structures might skew distribution and then figure out ways to correct for that.

The five faces of oppression provide a useful tool in understanding how power structures skew distribution and can be used to re-correct for those injustices. A way to measure this part of social justice is to analyze who is making decisions for who in a given society. Is it the people having an active role in decisions about their own spaces? Or, is it higher governing bodies making decisions for the people? The latter would demonstrate unjust practices. Additionally, with these questions, one can begin to think about and formulate just decision-making practices.

Territorial justice is important because it forces us to conceptualize justice as it relates to space and how the benefits and burdens that compose social justice are actualized in physical space. And, finally, the right to the city provides a comprehensive summary for how we should be thinking about social justice by focusing us to think about who is able to use the city and who is not given the right to use the city. Beyond their somewhat oversimplified breakdown of the right to the city theory, the United Nations Habitat group has provided us with a helpful set of pillars that should be achieved in order to achieve a right to the city. Therefore, spatial justice as an urban theory of social justice is important not in spite of, but rather *because* of how broad and vague it is. The theory tells us that we need to look at the injustices in geography to hope to achieve social justice. The ambiguity of the theory allows individuals to adapt the theory, based on its components, to the situation in front of them. The adaptability of spatial justice means that one can form a theory that will directly solve the problem presented to them, no matter how divergent the problem is from the typical problems addressed in other theories of justice.

Spatial Planning

While spatial justice is a theoretical consideration, concerns about spatiality can be addressed through tangible processes within urban planning such as spatial planning. Urban planning, broadly, is the process of preparing plans for how towns, cities, and metropolitan regions will be regulated and managed. Further, urban planning focuses on "the social, economic, and environmental consequences of delineating spatial boundaries

and influencing spatial distributions of resources" when it comes to designing regions.[68] The means of achieving spatial distribution are not uniform and often depend on the overall purpose of distribution, the historical implications, and the geographical implications of a given area.[69] The means of achieving spatial distribution are articulated in planning theories. It is important to note that there is no one singular planning theory because the unique needs of different areas could not be fully fleshed out and addressed is one cohesive theory.[70] Essentially, planning theories are built over time and respond to specific needs.

Starting around the 1980s, member nations of the European Union took a spatial turn in terms of how they thought about planning. Specifically, spatial planning evolved into a way of thinking about "how European space ought to be organized and how European spatial planning ought to be conducted."[71] This evolution in thinking redefined the definition of spatial planning in the European context to generally refer to "the practices of regulating and transforming space" with a goal of giving "geographical expression to the economic, social, cultural and ecological policies of a society."[72]

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[68] Margo Huxley and Andy Inch, "International Encyclopedia of Human Geography," in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, ed. Audrey Kobayashi (Elsevier, 2020), pp. 87-92.

[69] Huxley and Inch, 87-92.

[70] Juho Luukkonen, "Planning in Europe for 'EU'rope: Spatial Planning as a Political Technology of Territory," *Planning Theory* 14, no. 2 (January 21, 2014): pp. 174-194, https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095213519355.

[71] Luukkonen, 178.

[72] Luukkonen, 178.

Furthermore, spatial planning also refers to "the ways in which states, countries and municipalities intentionally rule, organise and manage their spatial development, preparing decisions on buildings and settlement consolidation and extension."[73] Spatial planning is a planning theory that is meant to guide the development of spaces in ways that promote and protect the common good and the common welfare of the people, paying special attention to how spatial development can address the needs of previously disadvantaged groups. As such, spatial planning is meant to address the unintended negative effects of historic spatial developments such as the lack of shared decision-making power and the uneven geographies that had been produced throughout time.[74] Additionally, spatial planning began as more of a top-down approach in which public administrators guided the ways spaces were developed. More recently, however, spatial planning has transformed into a bottom-up approach in which members of the public are more involved in planning the spaces that affect them.[75] The purpose and execution of spatial planning pairs perfectly with spatial justice because spatial planning is meant to address and change the uneven geographies and the struggles over space that are identified by spatial justice. In short, spatial justice is a set of theoretical considerations and spatial planning is the implementation of those considerations into the physical geography.

[73] Huning, Mölders, and Zibell, 11.

[74] Huning, Mölders, and Zibell, 9.

[75] Huning, Mölders, and Zibell, 11.

Gender and Spatial Planning

In the past ten years, there has been significantly increased attention paid to how gender inequalities function in unjust geographies and how spatial planning considerations could be used to reduce those inequalities. Gender considerations in spatial planning involves ensuring there is a "gender-aware and gender-sensitive attitude" in the planning process.[76] This means that the planning, "addresses every institution and every stakeholder who deals with spatially relevant decisions, actions and measures."[77] Gender planning, also referred to as gender-sensitive planning, "focuses on women and men and their relations as well as on gender-specific roles and stereotypes" while also valuing "spatial realities according to their qualities for (gendered) everyday life and includes age, period of life and social background."[78] The goal of gender planning is to deconstruct the unequal power relations between men and women while also dismantling the planning practices and instruments that perpetuate the unequal relations. The actuality of gender-sensitive spatial planning requires significant social and political will and coordination because the process is essentially completely transforming the ways people think, interact, and engage with their built environment.[79] The transition towards gender-sensitive spatial planning begins with the adoption of a gender mainstreaming perspective.

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[76] Huning, Mölders, and Zibell, 13.

[77] Huning, Mölders, and Zibell, 13.

[78] Huning, Mölders, and Zibell, 14.

[79] Huning, Mölders, and Zibell, 14-15.

Gender mainstreaming definition/meaning

During 1975 and 1995, the United Nations (UN) organized four world conferences for women that provided a location for world leaders to gather and discuss issues related to gender equality on a global scale. The 1995 Beijing Fourth World Conference for Women marked a critical point in regard to the global agenda for equality.[80] The conference produced the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action which required UN organizations, Member States, and all other actors involved in development policies and programs to take tangible actions towards a collective goal of achieving gender equality.[81] Two years later in 1997, the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) published the 1997 Agreed Conclusion of ECOSOC which defined gender mainstreaming as:

> The process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.[82]

Gender mainstreaming is a compounded term with specific definitions and implications for both "gender" and "mainstreaming." Gender, in this context, is "the

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[80] *"Conferences | Women and Gender Equality," United Nations (United Nations, n.d.), https://www.un.org/en/conferences/women.*

[81] *"How We Work: UN System Coordination: Gender Mainstreaming," UN Women, n.d., https://www.unwomen.org/en/how-we-work/un-system-coordination/gender-mainstreaming.*

[82] *"How We Work: UN System Coordination: Gender Mainstreaming."*

social differences or roles allotted to women and to men" and these are “roles that are learned as we are growing up, change over time, and depend on our culture, ethnic origin, religion, education, class and the geographical, economic and political environment we live in.”[83] Mainstream, in this context, is “the principal, dominant ideas, attitudes, practices or trends" that defines where “choices are considered and decisions are made that effect economic, social and political options.”[84] Put another way, the mainstream refers to “where things happen” and the mainstream “determines who gets what and provides a rationale for the allocation of resources and opportunities.”[85] Therefore, when these two terms are used together, they are meant to work off of one another and form a new blended definition of gender mainstreaming. The combination of these two terms is meant to take gender’s influence on societal roles and societal norms and challenge those established norms and roles by making gender equality a central component of the dominant mainstream with the ultimate goal of creating a society where people of any gender can equally benefit.

The recognition of difference is essential to gender mainstreaming. The recognition of difference is important for gender equality because understanding differences between gender-specific social expectations allows one to then respond to

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[83] European Commission, “Equal Guide on Gender Mainstreaming,” European Institute for Gender Equality (Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, January 1, 2004): 10, https://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/equal_consolidated/data/document/gendermain_en.pdf.

[84] European Commission, “Equal Guide on Gender Mainstreaming,” 10.

[85] European Commission, “Equal Guide on Gender Mainstreaming,” 10.

different gender-related needs accordingly. The recognition of difference also allows for more individualized, tailored responses to sources of inequality. As such, recognition of difference "can mean introducing specific actions targeted at women or at men to tackle persistent inequalities or changing mainstream policies to accommodate a diversity of circumstances."[86] The important takeaway of recognizing difference is that when you recognize that different groups need different things and that membership in different gender-related groups can cause inequalities, it becomes less about a perceived struggle between two diametrically opposed genders and more about how recognizing different individual needs and fixing them can make a more equitable society for everyone involved.[87]

Gender mainstreaming operates with the central notion that the root of gender inequality is found in the "social structures, institutions, values and beliefs which create and perpetuate the imbalance between men and women."[88] The primary task is then to take the processes and systems we currently have and reshape them in a way that requires the equal participation and involvement of people of all genders.[89] The European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) was created in 2006 to serve as the primary source of information for the European Union on how to achieve the central task of gender mainstreaming. The Institute provides a comprehensive outline of what gender

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[86] European Commission, "Equal Guide on Gender Mainstreaming," 8.

[87] European Commission, "Equal Guide on Gender Mainstreaming," 8.

[88] European Commission, "Equal Guide on Gender Mainstreaming," 7.

[89] European Commission, "Equal Guide on Gender Mainstreaming," 7.

mainstreaming entails and how and why a gender mainstreaming perspective should be used. Specifically, gender mainstreaming aims "to avoid the creation or reinforcement of inequalities" while also "analysing the existing situation, with the purpose of identifying inequalities, and developing policies which aim to reduce these inequalities and undo the mechanisms that caused them."[90] Gender mainstreaming can then be thought of as how issues of gender inequality enter into conversations on the governing level. With this entrance, the topics and issues brought up with gender mainstreaming become intertwined in government processes such as urban planning.

As mentioned in the Author's Note, the idea of gender mainstreaming relies on a gender binary. While the gender binary no longer reflects how societies think about gender, gender mainstreaming was created within the perspective of a dichotomous view of gender and sex both being limited to men/males and women/females as a result of a few factors. First, Sandra Huning, Tanja Mölders, and Barbara Zibell in their work, "Gender, space and development: An introduction to concepts and debates," identify the different categorizations of gender that have been used as they relate to spatial plans and development. The authors analyzed two categories in which gender has been used, a biological category and a social category.[91] The biological category of gender is the result of the lexical slippage between the terms "gender" and "sex." The biological view states that gender is the result of individuals' "biological/physiological characteristics defining

[90] "What Is Gender Mainstreaming," European Institute for Gender Equality, November 28, 2019, https://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/what-is-gender-mainstreaming.

[91] Huning, Mölders, and Zibell, 3.

female or male,"[92] when in fact this characterization is used to define sex. From a biological perspective, efforts are made to address female-specific or male-specific issues within the spatial context. This approach to understanding gender has been critiqued because the implications of a sex-specific course of action assumes homogeneity in the needs related to females and the needs relating to males. The social category of gender, which is a social construction that is only in part related to sex, has two components, structural category of gender and a process category of gender. A structural category looks at "structural hierarchies and gender contracts impacting activities in space and time."[93] Gender as a structural category "focuses on the configurations and conditions leading to the appreciation and devaluation of gendered fields of work" as they relate to men and women.[94] A structural category approach also critiques "the separation and hierarchisation of a productive (male) and a reproductive (female) sphere."[95] Additionally, gender as a structural category looks at the "gendered separation of production versus reproduction (e.g. public versus private, paid versus unpaid work)."[96] Huning, Mölders, and Zibell identify that gender mainstreaming relies on a *structural category* of gender in regard to spatial planning.[97] The second social category is gender as

[92] Huning, Mölders, and Zibell, 4.

[93] Huning, Mölders, and Zibell, 4.

[94] Huning, Mölders, and Zibell, 5.

[95] Huning, Mölders, and Zibell, 5.

[96] Huning, Mölders, and Zibell, 5.

[97] Huning, Mölders, and Zibell, 4.

a process category which is based on the "assumption that neither sex nor gender are fixed categories," and can be "linked to approaches focusing on the dimensions of *gender identity*, *gender expression* and *(sexual) orientation,* and their interaction and disruption."[98]

Gender mainstreaming uses a structural category of gender largely because the initial push for widespread gender mainstreaming was significantly influenced by financial factors, which are related most closely to the economic factors articulated in the structural category. Said another way, gender mainstreaming uses a structural category of gender because the purpose of gender mainstreaming is to bring attention to how society devalues or appreciates certain gendered fields of work. The gender mainstreaming perspective is prefaced on the idea that women have historically done more reproductive, unpaid work and men have done most of the productive and paid work. This assumption, which is based on statistical evidence, is the basis for the binary that is used in gender mainstreaming because of how more easily identifiable a binary conception of gender is in relation to these objectives. This is not to say that a gender binary is preferable. Rather, my intention in this thesis is to use gender mainstreaming, in its original form as a binary, as a way of analyzing spatial justice.

In the initial economically motivated push for gender mainstreaming, the European Union argued that women experience systemic and persistent discrimination in the labor market. This discrimination leads to decreased access for women to jobs, resources, and power. Without intervention, a perpetual cycle of disadvantage would

[98] Huning, Mölders, and Zibell, 5.

continue to grow larger. As such, gender equality needed to be formally addressed in order to maintain the European Union's economic competitiveness, economic growth, and social cohesion.[99]

The European Union identified several problem areas related to gender and economic life: Employment, pay, part-time work, and work and family life. These problem areas were identified based on data collected in a 2004 study titled, "Reports on equality between women and men."[100] The report first identified the gender inequalities in employment. Women dominated fields such as "health care and social services, education, public administration and retailing," while men were overwhelmingly represented in "work as technicians, engineers, finance professionals and managers."[101] Men were "twice as likely as women to be in managerial positions and over three times as likely to be senior managers."[102] The report also identified that women in the European Union "earn only 84% of men's wages" and women also make up 77% of the lowest paid workers in the European Union.[103] In regard to part-time work, 34% of women work part-time compared to only 7% of men.[104] The next problem area was work and family life. The report found that "women still do the majority of work in the home and for the

[99] European Commission, "Equal Guide on Gender Mainstreaming," 13.

[100] European Commission, "Equal Guide on Gender Mainstreaming," 13.

[101] European Commission, "Equal Guide on Gender Mainstreaming," 13.

[102] European Commission, "Equal Guide on Gender Mainstreaming," 13.

[103] European Commission, "Equal Guide on Gender Mainstreaming," 13.

[104] European Commission, "Equal Guide on Gender Mainstreaming," 13.

family" and this has an "impact on their work patterns and limits their opportunities to take up occupations that are comparable to the average occupations of men."[105] Further, women with children work an average of 12 hours less than men with children. Finally, women with children have a 12.7% lower employment rate than women without children.[106]

These statistics demonstrate why the initial concept of gender mainstreaming heavily focused on the immediate differences between men and women because of how gender inequality (as defined by a binary) adversely affected their economic health. The European Union then argued that gender mainstreaming could be used to address gender inequality in the workforce by finding solutions to the problem areas mentioned above. Increased gender equality would lead to more diversity and higher participation in the workforce by making women more able to participate on the same level of men. Overall, an effort to increase gender equality would enhance the economic health of the European Union.

The purpose of the conversation above has been to connect the conceptions of social justice to an urban context by providing the bridge, via the concept of spatial planning. This was done in light of the need to connect theoretical conversations about social justice to actual implementations measures. This chapter also served as an introduction to gender mainstreaming which will be further explained in the next chapter in the context of urban planning in Vienna, Austria.

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[105] European Commission, "Equal Guide on Gender Mainstreaming," 13.

[106] European Commission, "Equal Guide on Gender Mainstreaming," 13.

Chapter 3:

Vienna and Gender Mainstreaming

History of Gender Mainstreaming in Vienna

There is a fairly consistent conception of what gender mainstreaming is and how gender mainstreaming should interact with governing structures. The implementation of gender mainstreaming, however, does vary depending on the location. Gender mainstreaming in Vienna demonstrates the municipality's approach to furthering gender equality through urban planning.

The early 1990s marked the beginning of Vienna's practice and conception of gender mainstreaming in urban planning.[107] In 1991, an exhibit was set up, entitled "Who owns public space – women's everyday lives in the city," that intended to show how there needed to be a greater focus on planning the city for women.[108] Shortly after the exhibit, a Women's Office was established in the Viennese city government in 1992, which was specifically given the task of addressing gender-specific issues in urban planning. As the work of the Women's Office became more expansive, a specialized planning unit called the "Co-ordination Office for Planning and Construction Geared to the Requirements of Daily Life and the Specific Needs of Women," also known as the Co-ordination Office,

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[107] Elisabeth Irschik and Eva Kail, "Vienna: Progress Toward a Fair Shared City," in *Fair Shared Cities: the Impact of Gender Planning in Europe*, ed. Inés Sánchez de Madariaga and Marion Roberts, 1st ed. (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 193-229.

[108] Florian Reinwald, Marion Roberts, and Eva Kail, "Gender Sensitivity in Urban Development Concepts: The Example of Two Case Studies from London and Vienna," in *Gender Approaches to Spatial Development in Europe: Perspectives, Similarities, Differences*, ed. Barbara Zibell, Doris Damyanovic, and Ulrike Sturm, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2019), pp. 99-123.

was established in 1998. This special unit became a centralized location for Viennese planners to formulate and introduce gender-sensitive urban planning into the larger, overall planning system in Vienna. Specifically, the Co-ordination Office sought to improve issues related to reproduction and "to emphasize the specific interests of girls and women with regard to leisure and sport interests and their specific mobility patterns."[109] Following the creation of the Co-ordination Office, gender mainstreaming "became a cross-cutting strategy for the whole municipality as well as in spatial planning and development" that remains present today.[110]

A major development in the gender mainstreaming process took place between the years of 2005 and 2010 when the municipal departments that were related to spatial planning were required to orchestrate gender mainstreaming pilot projects. The pilot projects were the first phase of gender mainstreaming and there were approximately 60 across different planning levels. The pilot projects were implemented in areas "ranging from small urban spaces to a pilot district, from public space, parks and playgrounds, urban design, housing, public purpose buildings and lighting."[111] From these pilot projects, specific manuals and checklists were developed based on each individual project. The manuals and checklists were intended to inform future planners of what was successful and unsuccessful about the pilot project as well as which criteria were essential to the success to implementing gender-sensitive planning. The second phase of

[109] Irschik and Kail, 194.

[110] Reinwald, Roberts, and Kail, 103.

[111] Reinwald, Roberts, and Kail, 103.

gender mainstreaming involved implementing the insights gained from phase one.[112] Throughout the 1990s and into the 2000s, gender mainstreaming continued to develop and transform throughout Vienna's municipal departments.

In 2014, a new urban development plan called STEP 2025 was published in Vienna. Alongside STEP 2025, the city also published a manual titled "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development." The manual explores how the gender mainstreaming strategy provides a basis for "gender-sensitive planning procedures which foster the integration of gender equality at all stages of the planning process, ranging from the formulation of objectives and the planning of measures through to their implementation and evaluation."[113]

Central Components of Gender Mainstreaming in Vienna

In the Gender Mainstreaming manual, the City of Vienna outlines how a gender-sensitive approach to planning is advantageous primarily because of how it provides site-specific and group-specific approaches.[114] Furthermore, the City's Administration identifies four levels in which gender sensitivity in planning has tremendous benefits. First, gender sensitivity in planning provides quality assurance in planning processes by considering gender-specific, age-specific, and group-specific needs that are often overlooked in traditional planning processes. With gender-sensitive

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[112] Reinwald, Roberts, and Kail, 104.

[113] Reinwald, Roberts, and Kail, 104.

[114] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development § (2013), https://www.wien.gv.at/stadtentwicklung/studien/pdf/b008358.pdf.

planning, however, the needs of different groups are considered in relation to planning with the intended goal of "meeting current demands for space by individual groups, creating flexible and adaptable spaces to satisfy different needs and generating new potentials of space appropriation by inhabitants."[115] Second, gender-sensitive planning provides targeted resource use that facilitates "the equitable distribution of space and time," which ensures the "usability and functionality of a city" for its citizens.[116] Third, gender-sensitive planning provides the exchange and communication of knowledge related to gender-specific needs because the gender-sensitive planning culture is "informed by everyday needs and nurtures greater awareness of the different everyday needs of women and men in relation to life phases, life realities, cultural and social backgrounds."[117] Fourth, gender-sensitive planning provides for innovation and evolution in implementation. In other words, the increased sensitivity people have about gender equality means that people are continually finding and developing ways to further ensure gender equality is the central goal for all departments and disciplines.[118] The recognition of these explicit benefits of gender mainstreaming have come from the extensive history that Vienna has had with gender mainstreaming across all aspects of the city.

In the manual, the City of Vienna also defines the models and the visions undergirding gender-sensitive planning, and what this type of planning process is

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[115] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 12.

[116] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 12.

[117] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 12.

[118] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 12.

intended to accomplish. These models and visions are meant to provide a logical connection between gender equality and urban development for the reader. Specifically, these models and objectives guide Vienna's gender mainstreaming visions as it relates to the built environment.[119] The city of Vienna has identified seven models and visions:

Strengthening a polycentric urban structure: The goal of a polycentric urban structure is to have "development of local centres, decentralised concentration of service and infrastructure facilities close to high-level public transport stops."[120] The development of multiple, local centers allows for even infrastructure distribution which can be easily accessible by bike or by walking. Additionally, multiple centers allow for completing errands and everyday tasks, often the domain of women, to be a less significant time commitment, as centers to fulfill these needs are equally scattered throughout the city as opposed to just having one downtown shopping area. A polycentric urban structure also allows for younger children and older adults to easily participate in city life because there are numerous options for social and cultural interaction close to their living area which means they can move more independently throughout the city.[121]

A city of short distances: The goal of a city of short distances means making sure traffic, resource distribution, and a centralized array of services are available to all citizens in all parts of the city.[122] In connection to polycentric urban structure, having

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[119] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 25.

[120] Reinwald, Roberts, and Kail, 106.

[121] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 25.

[122] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 25.

multiple centers of shopping and other services means that there is less individual, motorized traffic because people can walk to wherever they need to go. Additionally, mixed-use buildings are also important because a "mix of residential buildings, workplaces, shopping and leisure facilities creates a dense network of supply options in the neighborhood."[123] Similar to the benefits reaped from a polycentric structure, a city of short distances allows older adults and young children to move throughout the city more independently because nothing is too far away. This reduces the burden on caregivers, who are often women, by allowing individuals to more easily move throughout the city.[124]

High-quality public space: High quality public space is characterized by "adequate private and communal open spaces for everyday tasks, children's play and leisure, differentiated functions of various open space types (e.g. open/green spaces near the home, streetscapes or parks and squares) ranging from totally private to totally public."[125] High quality public open space is important for a number of reasons. Public, open spaces make neighborhoods more attractive and provide a space for the health and development of children and older people who may not have access to their own private spaces.[126] Additionally, high quality public spaces encourage all citizens and all genders to have a reason to participate in city life.[127] Providing high quality public spaces also

[123] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 25.

[124] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 25.

[125] Reinwald, Roberts, and Kail, 107.

[126] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 26.

[127] Reinwald, Roberts, and Kail, 106.

means that open space does not have to be a privilege and instead can be more of a right for all citizens, regardless of their ability to buy or live in areas with public space.

Promotion of environmentally friendly means of transport: Vienna is specifically concerned with increasing the amount of environmentally friendly forms of transportation such as walking, public transit, and bicycles. Coupled with increased amounts of environmentally friendly forms of transit, the city also seeks to improve "the mobility options for non-motorised road users."[128] One important reason for this vision is that "if all parts of a city can be reached by public transport, this is bound to improve the mobility situation of persons with lower incomes and at the same time effectively curbs motorised individual traffic."[129]

A safe city: The broad goal of this vision of a safe city is to create a city in which citizens do not fear for their safety in public space. A central principle in Vienna is "seeing and being seen" which is aimed at "promoting (desirable) social control, providing effective guidance in the neighbourhood and ensuring visibility without blind corners and with efficient illumination of streets and footways."[130] In Vienna, men statistically are more often victims of violent crimes. But, women are more likely to be exposed to situations that produce fear, anxiety, and feelings of being unsafe which often causes them to stop using public spaces and public transportation. The design of these areas, however, can mitigate those fears. Achieving a collective sense of safety in public

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[128] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 26.

[129] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 26.

[130] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 27.

spaces requires physical considerations, such as visibility and clear-cut spatial organization, social considerations, such as the presence of different user groups, and also depends on personal experiences. In this regard, Vienna uses a gender mainstreaming approach to account for and control the aspects that promote feelings of public safety that are within the ramifications of the built environment.[131]

A barrier-free city: A gender mainstreaming perspective is concerned with many facets of mobility. A barrier-free city is one that provides infrastructure suitable for persons with reduced mobility. Additionally, barrier-free considerations extend to caregivers and provide infrastructure to support strollers, infants, elderly persons, and so on. Barrier-free designs are intended to make everyday movement easier and safer for everyone. The City of Vienna is especially dedicated to making barrier-free and accessible public transportation.[132]

Planning and construction geared to the requirements of daily life: Vienna is committed to designing buildings as well as open spaces in ways that "reflect the requirements of daily life and hence of everyday chores."[133] To achieve this, urban planners are expected to have an awareness for the possible user groups that will most frequently interact with their project. For instance, is the target user group pre-teens, caregivers, elderly persons, or a mix, and how can we design this space to specifically

[131] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 27.

[132] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 27.

[133] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 28.

address the needs of those groups?[134] Those are the types of questions planners are expected to be thinking about as they develop their plans.

Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in Vienna

In the "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development" manual, the City of Vienna provides an in-depth review of how the municipality has implemented gender mainstreaming in various aspects of the built environment. The areas of the built environment they discuss are a mix of broad and specific considerations. In the following subsections, I discuss some of the specific considerations mentioned in the manual while also providing the historical development of how these gender mainstreaming considerations were formed.

Public Space: Streetscapes

A streetscape is an urban design concept that is used to describe the physical roadway of a street while also including other design aspects such as the sidewalks, bike lanes, and divisions of traffic lanes that influence the conditions of the area around the street. The analysis of streetscapes is coupled with the analysis of public squares because both have the potential to be components of the public realm where people are able to interact with one another. Thus, the design of streetscapes and public squares have important implications for the ways people use their city spaces.[135]

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[134] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 28.

[135] "Online TDM Encyclopedia - Streetscaping," Online TDM Encyclopedia - Streetscaping (Victoria Transport Policy Institute , August 28, 2018), https://www.vtpi.org/tdm/tdm122.htm#:~:text=Streetscape%20refers%20to%20urban%20roadway,limited%20to%20motor%20vehicle%20travel.

The design of streetscapes and public squares is based on the notion that these public spaces need to be designed with a heightened attention paid to specific user groups. For instance, the City of Vienna conducted a gender specific assessment of streetscape and public square use and found that women and people responsible for caregiving are the primary users of these spaces as they often travel by foot or by public transit.[136] Children, senior citizens, and people with special mobility needs are also prevalent user groups that need to be factored into how planners think about designs for these spaces. The idea behind considering these user groups is that if these public spaces are conducive for all users to easily move through independently, that will "facilitate family work and reduce the number of trips taken to accompany relatives."[137] The increased quality and usability of these public spaces will reduce the burden placed on women and other individuals who usually do the most caregiving work and who are the primary users of these spaces.

Before beginning the development of these streetscapes and public spaces, the City of Vienna conducts specialized evaluations of the area to ensure that once they get to the development stage they are effectively building something that maximizes the benefits for the target user group and for the area. The city has developed surveys that seek to capture the current status quo, the possible uses of public space, and the target group-specific requirements at different levels of analysis.[138] One example is at the

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[136] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 73.

[137] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 73.

[138] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 73.

district level. The city of Vienna is divided up into 23 districts and the level of analysis is often the district level because each municipal district is largely responsible for the design of public space in their district. The evaluation of a district's public space considers, "its footways, streets and squares" because "improving the (small scale) mobility of pedestrians is essential for enhancing equality of opportunities."[139]

In 2002, the Mariahilf district was selected to be a gender mainstreaming pilot district. This project was similar to the goals of the pilot projects initiated at the start of gender mainstreaming, but this project differed in that it expanded across an entire district. The city conducted studies on the district and identified the deficits of the area:

> The district has a large portion of streets with a cross-section of less than 12 metres. About 25 per cent of all pavements were less than two metres wide and about 50 per cent of all junctions were difficult to cross for pedestrians. Connectivity in the 6th district is also influenced by its topography. The height difference between the highest and the lowest points amounts to 31 metres. Mariahilf features a total of about 50 public stairways and flights of steps, more than 30 of which were not fitted with ramps in 2001.[140]

In addition to the results of the study, the newly elected District Chairwoman of Mariahilf, Renate Kaufmann, noticed the lack of accessibility for pedestrians and decided to address these issues in 2001. The project was led by the Co-ordination Office and received "budget funds from the Urban Planning and Women's Departments" to conduct studies and analyses of the area.[141] There were seven municipal departments involved in

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[139] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 74.

[140] Irschik and Kail, 212.

[141] Irschik and Kail, 212.

the project, all of whom were specialized in dealing with different public space concerns. Each department was required to conduct "lead projects" which were specialized, in depth investigations of different issues and how they related to the requirements of different target groups. The project development also included three different gender workshops that provided the chance for different departments to discuss gender-specific needs and how they could be addressed in development.[142] The project had tangible outcomes for the district itself:

> The measures overall included the construction of more than 60 improvements to street junctions, the widening of more than 1,000 metres of pavement, the establishment of pedestrian lead times at several junctions, the implementation of barrier-free design in many places throughout the district and the installation of numerous additional seating facilities. Lighting for pedestrians was improved in 26 spots and three squares were redesigned.[143]

The success of Mariahilf extended beyond just the district. The idea of lead projects which focus on niche, gender-related issues was expanded on and incorporated into the city planning process. Since 2006, the eight municipal departments related to planning and transport have selected gender mainstreaming lead project ideas each year to be developed and implemented. Beyond just responding to issues, the lead projects also include projects that are meant to survey the population and identify issues that a particular is having or something a group is interested in seeing happen in their city.[144]

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[142] Irschik and Kail, 213.

[143] Irschik and Kail, 214.

[144] Irschik and Kail, 215-216.

At a more granular level, surveys are also used to account for the different mobility needs of different user groups. Analysis of these needs before the project starts is especially important because sometimes the mobility needs of different target groups will conflict with one another and there needs to be a comprehensive understanding of how a space can be effectively designed for all types of mobility needs.[145] One example of analysis of group-specific mobility needs is children and adolescents on their paths to school. Allgemeine Unfallversicherungsanstalt (AUVA, General Accident Insurance Institution) and Municipal Department 46, the Traffic Management and Organization Department, put together school route maps to demonstrate how to promote and explain independent mobility patterns to children and adolescents. The school route plans are maps of the school's surrounding areas and the various environs of the area. The map highlights the recommended walking routes in green and the danger spots in yellow, orange, and red. These maps are made available for schoolchildren throughout their time at the school.[146]

[145] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 78.

[146] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 78.

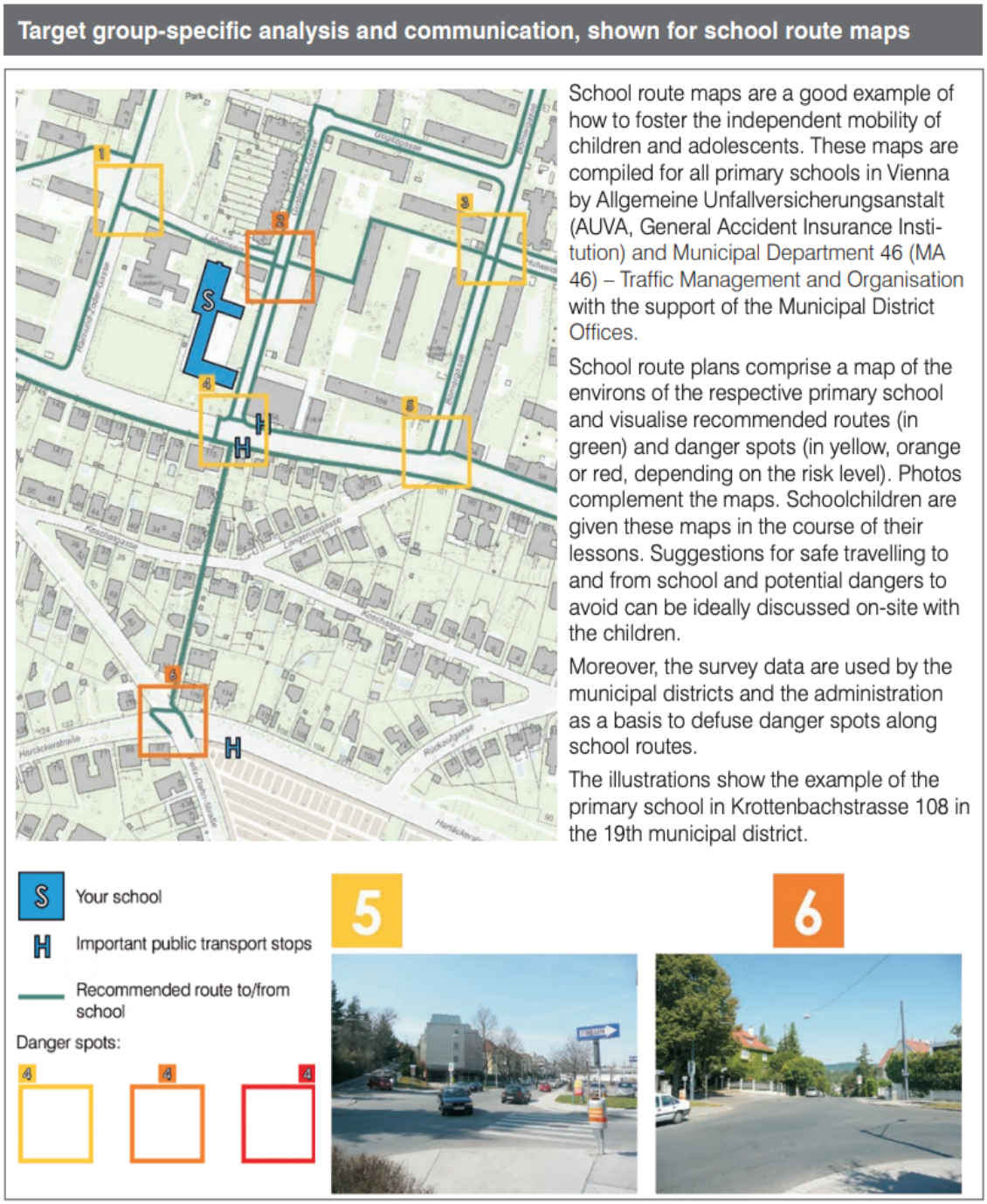

Figure 3.1. "Target group-specific analysis and communication, shown for school route maps." Graphic provided by the City of Vienna, Municipal Department 18-- Urban Development and Planning, Vienna 2013: 78. https://www.wien.gv.at/stadtentwicklung /studien/pdf/b008358.pdf.

These maps provide a specific unit of analysis for how gender mainstreaming is being implemented in order to increase gender equality. The school maps have a two-fold purpose. First, the maps are a tool in which children and adolescents are learning how to safely walk to school by themselves. The map shows them how to navigate the spaces around them. With this education, caregivers for these children (again, frequently women) have a reduced burden when it comes to walking their child to school. Second, these maps increase the feelings of safety for children as they learn how to navigate public spaces. As mentioned previously, decreased feelings of safety lead to a lack of participation in public spaces. By teaching children how to safely navigate public spaces around their school, these maps are further adding to the ways in which planning can be used to increase feelings of safety and by extension, civic engagement by people of all genders.

The City of Vienna places specific importance on how different user groups move throughout public space because public space is important. Public space is a limited resource and the distribution of public space "among different user and mobility groups is a central issue in streetscape planning."[147] The design of public spaces and streetscapes largely determines who gets to use it. Therefore, it is imperative that these designs have thoughtful considerations about different mobility needs before they are constructed.[148] The City of Vienna has taken the years of different surveys, analyses, and the pilot district

[147] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 80.

[148] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 80.

to form the following checklist to ensure that gender mainstreaming concerns are present in public spaces:

Assessing the effects of measures, shown for the gender mainstreaming checklist for streetscape planning

In the context of the gender mainstreaming pilot projects, MA 28 and MA 46 subjected streetscape designs and plans to a gender check. This checklist looks in depth at the qualities of the planned project vis-à-vis the status quo and demands clarifications if quality standards are not complied with in the design. The following aspects are part of the checklist:

- **General information:** important facilities and destinations in the vicinity, traffic count data (if applicable), accident blackspots and parties involved in accidents
- **Quality standards for pedestrians according to the Transport Master Plan:** pedestrian routes, minimum passage widths for sidewalks, measures to protect pedestrians in moving traffic, surfacing of sidewalks, deviations from direct walking lines, crossing aids, barrier-free access to public transport stops and important destinations
- **Quality standards for public transport according to the Transport Master Plan:** segregated tracks or bus lanes for public transport, station/stop design
- **Quality standards for bicycle traffic:** integration into main cycleway network, type of bicycle traffic facilities, bicycle parking options, cycleway surfacing
- **Quality standards for private motorised traffic according to the Transport Master Plan:** information about lanes and segregation of carriageways, parking slot regulations and parking slot overview, loading zones, surfacing of carriageways and parking lanes

One central element of the checklist is the assessment of the effects of a given project on different user groups.

In all, the project's effects will be ... for the following user groups ...	**positive**	**negative**
Pedestrians	☐	☐
Cyclists	☐	☐
Public transport users	☐	☐
Vehicle drivers	☐	☐
Parked vehicles	☐	☐

Remarks

Non-implementable goals:

Reason:

Figure 3.2. "Assessing the effects of measures, shown for the gender mainstreaming checklist for streetscape planning." Graphic provided by the City of Vienna, Municipal Department 18-- Urban Development and Planning, Vienna 2013: 80. https://www.wien. gv.at/stadtentwicklung /studien/pdf/b008358.pdf.

By making criteria list like the one shown above, the City of Vienna is able to further implement gender mainstreaming while also keeping planners accountable in terms of ensuring that they reflect the necessary components of gender mainstreaming.

Public Space: Public parks and gardens

Public parks and gardens are another important area of concern when it comes to implementing gender mainstreaming because the design of these spaces can greatly increase the level of participation in urban life for different groups. Vienna has done a large amount of work on gender mainstreaming concerns relating to how children use parks. In 1997, the Co-ordination Office conducted a study that found "that girls tend to withdraw entirely from parks and public spaces starting at age 10 to 13."[149] One primary reason for this withdrawal was that the playground facilities at public parks were designed in ways that mainly appeased the interests of boys and male adolescents. Following the results of the study, the Co-ordination Office launched a project called "Gender-Sensitive Parks, Sports Grounds and Playgrounds for Children and Young People In Vienna's Municipal Districts."[150] The project involved completely redesigning two already existent parks, Einsiedlerpark and St. Johann Park in 1999, as well as starting four other pilot projects in different parks.[151] These two park redesign projects as well as the four other pilot projects included building out different types of youth participation to ensure the needs of young girls were being considered and were being accurately

[149] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 82.

[150] Irschik and Kail, 206.

[151] Irschik and Kail, 206.

represented in the redesign process. The Co-ordination Office used different methods to measure these needs. In one instance, the Co-ordination Office invited a group of eight girls, "to take part in a planning and construction workshop."[152] The eight girls and the construction group jointly developed three basic requirements for the new parks, one of which was that "they wanted a retreat facility for girls only, an area for play and sports which is not dominated by boys and a 'communication zone' both for internal socialising within the group and for making new contacts with others."[153] Another example of participation was in the redesign of a park in Odeongasse. This form of youth participation involved a focus group of girls from several local schools that identified that they wished "for a clear subdivision of the space into different areas offering higher and lower levels of activity and privacy."[154] These park redesign projects demonstrated the emphasis on participation in decision making that is so crucial to gender mainstreaming.

In addition to citizen participation, there was also a gender-sensitive evaluation that was conducted in order to figure out additional considerations for park design. The evaluation, "consisted of a landscape design analysis of 14 parks and a detailed user and spatial pattern analysis of five parks including the two pilot projects."[155] The information collected in these various methods was combined and synthesized into the "Planning Recommendations for the Gender-Sensitive Design of Public Parks" by the Co-ordination

[152] Irschik and Kail, 207.

[153] Irschik and Kail, 207.

[154] Irschik and Kail, 208.

[155] Irschik and Kail, 209.

Office. This document as well as other supporting documents from the Co-ordination's Office original project were been central to Vienna's "guidelines for park design, which are made available to all contractors of Municipal Department 42 (MA 42) – Parks and Gardens as a planning aid."[156] The present-day official documents have been formalized into checklists and requirements that still heavily rely on the work done by the Co-ordination Office's park project and still maintain the desire to establish equal opportunities between different user groups in Vienna's public parks and gardens."[157] Here is an example of the planning recommendations from 2005:

Example – Excerpt from the planning recommendations for the gender-sensitive design of public parks and gardens

Spatial structure	
Networking of open spaces	Spatial and functional networking of open spaces and popular gathering places of children and young people by means of urban design
Footpath network	The footpath network of the park enables visitors to walk around (circular route) and is integrated into everyday trips and walks (crossing options).
Differentiated spatial concept	Combination of smaller-scale and larger-scale sub-zones
	Combination of both functionalised zones and open-ended, flexible sub-zones for multiple uses
Structuring into sub-zones	Especially in case of high utilisation pressure, it is recommended to structure the larger zones of the park (e.g. areas for ballgames) into sub-zones to ensure their simultaneous use by several groups.
	In non-functionalised zones, focal points (e.g. seats) are important because they help less confident groups to stake a claim for appropriating the surrounding areas.
	Design of spatial boundaries
Flexibility	The facilities should offer flexibility and leeway for change (trends in leisure activities, space for temporary activities).

Source: MA 42, Executive Group for Construction and Technology, 2005

[156] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 82.

[157] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 82.

Design of boundaries	Zoning of the public open space by means of multifunctional boundaries that are also suitable for play
	By providing transparency, suitability for play and places for gathering and lingering, boundary design can foster or prevent interactions between sub-zones.
	Peripheral or transition areas between functionalised sub-zones should be usable for play, tranquillity, lingering and/or communication.
Subjective feeling of safety/security	
Orientation	Good visibility and clearcut organisation of footpath system
	Clearcut design of main footpaths (visibility inside niches, minimum distance of hedges and shrubs from path borders)
Good visibility and social control	Fostering frequency of use and enlivening main paths
	Visual axes creating links to lively areas (e.g. adjacent streets)
	Attractive, clearly designed park entrance zones
	Seating and lounge zones for adults (e.g. next to toddler playgrounds)
Illumination	Efficient lighting of main footpaths, key access routes and intensively used sub-zones
Sanitary facilities	Well-maintained and clean public toilets
Senior citizens	Protected, shady pockets with visual axes to more lively zones should be available for elderly persons.
Activity range of girls	
Spatial and play-related offerings	The overall spatial concept is to stimulate a variety of activities: ▶ Play (movement play, creative play, role play, games and exploratory play) ▶ Sports games ▶ Communication, meeting-points ▶ Relaxation ▶ Roaming, rambling, strolling ▶ Childminding tasks
Areas for ballgames	The design of ballgame areas should be as open and multifunctional as possible.
	Areas for rest and lingering must be provided in the peripheral zones of ballgame areas (for play, watching, communication).
Configuration of play zones	Taking account of interactions between different groups
	Areas designed to attract more girls (e.g. sports areas, volleyball court) should if possible be located within sight of the main gathering points of girls in the park (e.g. playground with equipment).
Play equipment	Use of multifunctional play equipment (to foster communication in addition to movement and motor skills)
	Use of integrative play equipment (the following should be jointly usable: bird's nest swings, carousels, climbing structures, water features, rocking plates, etc.)
	Provision of possibilities for "play on the go" (balancing beams or walls, sound elements, etc.)

Furniture	Multiple pieces of furniture elements that are attractive for several user groups should be available.
	Seating of various types should be available and partly also movable (benches, chairs, wooden platforms, pedestals, low walls, chair/bench combos).
	A covered zone should be available in case of inclement weather and as a meeting-place or sheltered point.
Sheltered zones	Sheltered zones should be available in quiet areas of the park.
Exposed spots	Exposed spots that grant a good overview of the park should be available (for meeting others, seeing and being seen).
Recommended frame conditions	
Planning participation	When planning or refurbishing a public park, it is highly recommended to involve children and young people who will be regular park users.
	Gender-sensitive expert monitoring of participation processes
	Planning studios commissioned with park design should already be involved in the participation process.
Gender-sensitive work on-site	Educational and pedagogical offerings (park monitoring services, mobile youth work, etc.) with a gender-sensitive approach
Indoor meeting-points	Additional special meeting-points and tranquil places for girls and boys close to the park (this must, however, not result in a curtailing of green spaces)

Figure 3.3. "Example- Excerpt from the planning recommendations for the gender-sensitive design of public parks and gardens." Graphic provided by the City of Vienna, Municipal Department 18-- Urban Development and Planning, Vienna 2013: 78. https://www.wien.gv.at/stadtentwicklung /studien/pdf/b008358.pdf.

These checklists further demonstrate the extensive work the City of Vienna has done in regard to gender mainstreaming in park construction. Another area that has received specific attention for gender mainstreaming concerns is housing construction.

Housing construction

The City of Vienna has an extensive history of providing above-average forms of public housing. The importance of public housing experienced a drastic shift in the early 1990s as gender mainstreaming began to influence how housing was constructed and changed the meaning of what housing was meant to accomplish. In 1993, the Women's

Office of the City of Vienna initiated the *Frauen-Werk-Stadt* competition which invited architects who are women to submit their plans for a public housing project.[158] The competition marked the first time in Vienna's history that architects who are women were invited to submit a proposal for competition.[159] Following the success of Frauen-Werk-Stadt (FSW I), the Co-ordination Office decided to launch a competition for Frauen-Werk-Stadt II (FSW II). This housing project was initiated with a specific interest in providing housing for aging populations. The Co-ordination Office found this interest to pertain to gender mainstreaming based on the importance of "assisted and community-based living in old age" and how this was "of particular relevance to women, since the proportion of women in the population increases significantly with old age and care services for older relatives are mostly provided by women, both professionally and within the family."[160] In 2003, a professor of architecture named Sabine Pollak decided to launch her own project and design the Frauenwohnprojekt [ro*sa] Donaustadt, also known as just Ro*sa, which was a housing development that focused on aspects such as "cross-generational and integrative housing, the type and location of the communal facilities, the organization of flats and the mix of different groups."[161] The common

[158] Franziska Ullmann, "Choreography of Life: Two Pilot Projects of Social Housing in Vienna," in *Fair Shared Cities: The Impact of Gender Planning in Europe*, ed. Marion Roberts and Inés Sánchez de Madariaga, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2013), pp. 297-323.

[159] Irschik and Kail, 195.

[160] Irschik and Kail, 196.

[161] Irschik and Kail, 196.

aspects of these three projects characterize the general conception of how to build housing projects in a gender mainstreaming way. These are some of the common aspects:

Flats for Every Phase of Life: These three projects identified the importance of having flats that are suitable for all phases of life. This entails having rooms and design layouts that are not geared specifically just to one phase one life. Additionally, within this aspect, there is also a concern for how families experience and interact with flats. For instance, "the family work room/kitchen should enable visual contact with play areas inside and outside the flat."[162] This idea was especially emphasized in the layout of units in FSW I and this was the most common layout type. In the FSW II, the project found that one type of layout does not suit the needs of intergenerational living so there was more variety in layout type.[163]

Second Rooms as Primary Issues: The idea behind this aspect is that "the location and equipment of utility rooms have influence on everyday life."[164] These types of rooms at each of the projects were carefully considered. For instance, laundry rooms were placed on the ground floor at some buildings so people could easily see into their apartments and watch their children while doing laundry outside of the home. Another example, in FSW I there was a special storage room for strollers on each floor as a way to reduce the clutter in flats. All three of the projects also paid specific attention to how parking garages were designed. All of the underground parking garages provided a source

[162] Irschik and Kail, 197.

[163] Irschik and Kail, 197.

[164] Irschik and Kail, 198.

of natural light and were configured in ways that made people feel safe, which, as previously discussed, is a primary concern for women.[165]

Quality Open Space: Parents have a lower burden of care when their children are able to safely play near their home without car traffic or other possibly unsafe conditions. Therefore, these projects emphasized the importance of providing different types of open spaces within the housing complexes. FSW I provided the most diverse options for public spaces such as high-quality playground equipment and a specific "chill area" for adolescents.[166] Ro*sa and FSW II had less open space options but they did reduce the number of private yards and replaced them with communal spaces and facilities.[167]

Good Infrastructure: All three of the projects made careful considerations in regard to the location of the projects. For instance, there is a tram stop right next to the entrance of FSW II and "either a tram stop (FSW II) or the underground (ro*sa) are within a three-minute walking distance."[168] There are other considerations besides transportation accessibility. For instance, FSWI has "a kindergarten, a doctor's practice and a pharmacy and a huge supermarket immediately nearby and schools are not far away."[169]

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[165] Irschik and Kail, 198.

[166] Irschik and Kail, 201.

[167] Irschik and Kail, 201.

[168] Irschik and Kail, 203.

[169] Irschik and Kail, 203.

The three projects discussed above were largely influential in how gender mainstreaming is approached in housing in Vienna. The projects, coupled with the quality assurance requirements, has led to the creation of formalized criteria for evaluating gender equality in housing:

Example – List of criteria to evaluate the gender equity and suitability to meet everyday needs of housing projects

Criterion	Notes/comments
Circulation/internal communication routes	
Manageable size of residential community	If a block or building comprises more than approx. 30 housing units, the residential community may become anonymous, which hampers or even prevents social control.
Clearly organised entrance zones, allowing for contact (sight or earshot) with the surrounding flats	If the entrance door is positioned more than 2 m inside the building or inside a passageway, contact (by sight or earshot) with the surrounding (ground-floor or first-floor) flats is made difficult. Entrances zones that project far into the building can even create niches with poor visibility.
Barrier-free entrances/ exits to garden or courtyard	Every building entrance should be barrier-free, and all circulation staircases should have one direct, barrier-free exit to the communal open space (garden/courtyard).
Natural lighting for corridors and staircases	Both staircases and corridors on a given floor should feature natural lighting all over.
Communication-enhancing circulation areas	Attractively designed encounter zones in entrance areas or on upper storeys promote communication between residents.
Clearly organised car park with direct access	Direct access of the car park is to be safeguarded from all staircases leading to the flats, i.e. without long corridors or overly complex gate setups.
Natural lighting for car park	Natural lighting for the car park enhances users' subjective feeling of safety and security. Ideally, people inside the car park can also be seen and heard from outside.
Dwellings	
Attractive orientation	Dwellings should at least partly face west or south.
Cross-ventilation	Cross-ventilation of dwellings should be possible. Cross-ventilation is possible for all flats extending through the entire depth of a block, for flats featuring windows set at roughly right angles to each other (corner flats) and for maisonettes that extend through the entire building depth at least on one level.
Rooms >10 sq m, b >2.5 m	Lounges and living rooms should be of a minimum size to enhance flexibility of use. Above all children's rooms – usually the smallest rooms with lounge character of a dwelling – are used very intensively and hence should never undercut this minimum size (recommended minimum size: 12 sq m).

Source: Chief Executive Office, Executive Group for Construction and Technology, Building Construction Group

Criterion	Notes/comments
Flexible use for B-type flats	It is recommended that rooms of B-type (two-room) flats be separately accessible to enhance flexibility of use. (For example, this increases the level of privacy of single parents.)
Direct natural lighting and ventilation of kitchens	Kitchen units/kitchenettes should be situated close to windows to ensure direct natural lighting and ventilation. As a result, persons in the kitchen can see and hear (and be seen and heard from) outside; social control is enhanced, and it is easier to look after young children.
Sufficiently dimensioned storerooms or storage niches	Storerooms/storage niches inside flats should in any case be bigger than 1.5 sq m altogether.
Shared ancillary rooms/communal rooms	
Attractive communal rooms	Communal rooms should feature natural lighting and ventilation, dispose of running water and perhaps a tea kitchen and be accessible from all staircases leading to the flats via barrier-free communal areas (i.e. not via the street or underground car park). Ideally, they should have a direct exit to the garden or roof terrace.
Attractive playrooms for children	(See also above remarks regarding communal rooms) If the lot does not have a children's playground, the playroom offered as an alternative must be at least 50 sq m and be provided with play equipment adequate for the children living in the building (see also Building Code for Vienna).
Sufficiently dimensioned and conveniently located storage rooms for bicycles and prams	At least 2 sq m (corresponding roughly to the space taken up by one bicycle) should be provided for each dwelling as storage space for bikes and prams; this space must be lockable, barrier-free and in an easily accessible location (ground floor or upper storey). To promote eco-friendly mobility in Vienna, a space of 4 sq m is recommended for each dwelling. Every staircase should directly dispose of such an area corresponding to the number of flats reached by this staircase. The configuration of this space should allow for the efficient storage of bikes.
Conveniently located waste bin storerooms	If possible, the waste bin storeroom should be directly accessible from all flats via the staircase, by a short and clearcut route.
Attractive laundry rooms	Laundry rooms should feature natural lighting and ventilation; for reasons of subjectively perceived safety, they should be located on the ground floor, first upper storey or roof level. Ideally, there should be a visual axis from the laundry room to the playground/playroom/roof terrace to facilitate the combination of housework and childcare.
Sufficiently dimensioned and easily accessible storage rooms	Storage rooms outside flats should in any case be bigger than 2 sq m per dwelling; long and overly complicated access routes should be avoided. Storage rooms bigger than 4 sq m per dwelling are a positive feature.
Open spaces	
Easily usable private open spaces	Flats should dispose of a private open or outdoor space. Terraces, balconies and loggias should be at least 1.20 m deep to allow for easy furnishing. Tenant garden access from outside facilitates garden upkeep.
Sufficiently dimensioned and easily usable communal open spaces	Communal open spaces should be accessible from all staircases directly and without barriers; their furnishing is to foster good-neighbourly communication. Additional communal spaces on the roof are a positive asset. As a feature designed for young people and also to avoid conflicts, it is recommended to take account (if possible) of more boisterous and expansive types of use when planning open spaces for a development. (For problematic situations that generate a lot of noise, it is recommended to provide space inside the building or on the roof level.)
Attractive toddler playgrounds	For developments with 15 or more dwellings, one toddler playground of at least 30 sq m with age-adequate play equipment must be provided (see Vienna Playground Ordinance). It is recommended to situate a public toilet near the playground.
Attractive children's playgrounds	Starting at 50 dwellings, one children's playground of at least 500 sq m in an easily accessible location and with age-adequate play equipment must be provided (see Vienna Playground Ordinance). It is recommended to situate a public toilet near the playground.

Figure 3.4. "List of criteria to evaluate the gender equality and suitability to meet everyday needs of housing projects." Graphic provided by the City of Vienna, Municipal Department 18-- Urban Development and Planning, Vienna 2013: 88. https://www.wien.gv.at/stadtentwicklung/studien/pdf/b008358.pdf.

The criteria lists above are able to be enforced because of the process by which the City of Vienna constructs public housing. In the City of Vienna, 60% of the population is living on some form of government subsidized housing which gives the government significant influence on the construction of housing through government subsidies. Beginning in the mid-1990s, government-sponsored competitions were introduced in the housing development market. These competitions were open to architects to submit their proposals for new housing projects. The winner would then receive the government subsidy to build the project. But, the subsidy came with specific stipulations in terms of building requirements. The Co-ordination Office for Planning and Construction Geared to the Requirements of Daily Life and the Specific Needs of Women used the information gathered in the pilot projects to develop a list of criteria that new housing projects had to abide by in order to receive their government funds. The list of criteria is evaluated before the construction starts and this system provides a thorough and effective means of ensuring that gender mainstreaming is being implemented and the recipients of social housing are getting high quality housing.[170]

Beyond the requirements for receiving subsidies, the City of Vienna also has measures in place to ensure that the architect who wins the competition has plans that suit the needs of all genders. The judges of the competitions are juries composed of both men

[170] "Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Planning and Urban Development," 87-88.

and women, ideally an equal number of both genders.[171] The members of juries are representatives from the city, architects, builders, and specialists in housing law.[172] The jury evaluates the proposals for the housing projects based on four criteria: "architectural quality, environmental performance, social sustainability, and economic parameters such as proposed rent levels and costs."[173] Once the jury chooses the winner, the city then provides the funds for the architect to begin their project. The jury process extends beyond just housing and is used for many instances where important decision-making bodies are needed.[174]

Gender Budgeting

In 2005, Gender budgeting was introduced in Vienna as a way to assess, "whether the budgets for operating expenses are equally balanced between men and women."[175] The idea of gender budgeting is based on these questions: "who benefits from financial sources and services, how are the services utilised by the public, and does the way in

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[171] "Gender Mainstreaming Made Easy. Practical Advice for More Gender Equality in the Vienna City Administration," § (2011), https://www.wien.gv.at/english/administration/gendermainstreaming/principles /manual.html.

[172] Anna Bergren, "Public Housing Works: Lessons from Vienna and Singapore," Shareable, March 4, 2019, https://www.shareable.net/public-housing-works-lessons-from-vienna-and-singapore/.

[173] "Vienna's Unique Social Housing Program: HUD USER," Vienna's Unique Social Housing Program | HUD USER, n.d., https://www.huduser.gov/portal/pdredge/pdr_edge_featd_article_011314.html.

[174] "Gender Mainstreaming Made Easy. Practical Advice for More Gender Equality in the Vienna City Administration," 29.

[175] "Gender Mainstreaming Made Easy. Practical Advice for More Gender Equality in the Vienna City Administration," 20.

which the resources are distributed contribute to the reduction or the increase of existing differences between women and men."[176] When all of the municipal departments are preparing their annual budget estimates and annual accounts, they are required to examine how their objectives relate to gender equality and whether or not their budgets reflect work toward greater gender equality. The departments are also asked to consider how the resources they are requesting affects gender equality. In this way, the gender budget makes each municipal department consciously think about how resources are being distributed and whether those resources are being distributed in ways that further gender equality.[177]

Gender mainstreaming efforts in Vienna have been in place since the 1990s and have drastically changed the way the city is built and how people interact with their spaces. In this chapter, I reviewed the ways in which Vienna has implemented gender mainstreaming in their urban planning as well as explained why Vienna finds these gender mainstreaming perspectives important. This chapter serves as a case study for gender mainstreaming and how gender-related concerns can be implemented in spatial planning. This chapter will also provide the basis for evaluating the effectiveness of space-based attempts at social justice, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

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[176] Ursula Bauer, "Gender Mainstreaming in Vienna. How the Gender Perspective Can Raise the Quality of Life in a Big City," *Kvinder, Køn & Forskning*, no. 3-4 (2009): 67, https://doi.org/10.7146/kkf.v0i3-4.27973.

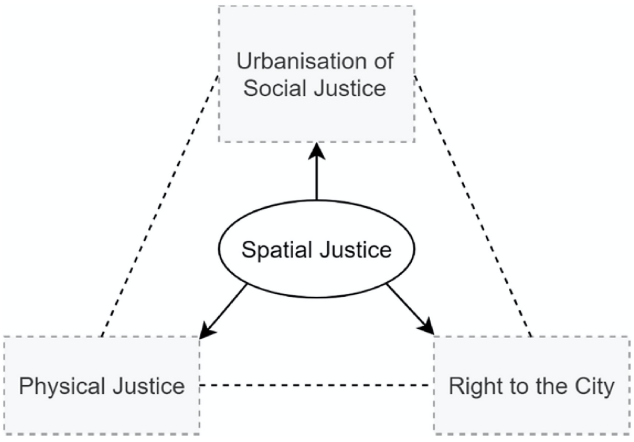
[177] Bauer, 67.

Chapter 4:

Evaluation of Gender Mainstreaming as Spatial Justice

Although Soja does not provide a fully developed or formalized framework for measuring spatial justice, other scholars have taken Soja's work and formed their own frameworks. Specifically, an article published in 2020 by Izzy Yi Jian, Jimei Luo, and Edward H.W. Chan entitled, "Spatial Justice in Public Open Space Planning: Accessibility and Inclusivity" provides a framework for evaluating spatial justice when it comes to public open spaces. While this framework is intended for public open spaces, the preliminary framework provided by the authors is a perfect example of how one can evaluate spatial justice through the *processes rather than just the products* of gender mainstreaming in Vienna.

Drawing on the aggregated literature on spatial justice, the article provides a rudimentary figure for how to think about the multiple components that make up spatial justice[178]:



[178] Izzy Yi Jian, Jiemei Luo, and Edwin H.W. Chan, "Spatial Justice in Public Open Space Planning: Accessibility and Inclusivity," *Habitat International* 97 (February 1, 2020): 2, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2020.102122.

This diagram can be used to evaluate spatial justice within the context of Vienna's gender mainstreaming, which is the task of this final section.

The first component, the urbanization of social justice, is taken directly from Harvey's work. In this regard, the urbanization of social justice is the three components (need, contribution to the common good, and merit) and the processes that govern how these claims to resources are determined. Physical justice refers to not only the equal distribution of resources throughout a city but also the equal distribution of *high-quality* resources throughout a city. As such, physical justice is largely tied to distributive justice. Next, the right to the city component is based on a mix of the theoretical rights proposed by Lefebvre as well as the actual rights proposed at the United Nations' Habitat conference.

The urbanization of social justice can be seen in many aspects of Vienna's gender mainstreaming. When discussing Harvey's work, Soja notes that the purpose of considering need is to assess the degree to which "the organization of space and the regional or territorial allocation of resources" meets "the basic needs of the population."[179] Additionally, Harvey states that "the difference between needs and actual allocations provides us with an initial evaluation of the degree of territorial injustice in an existing system."[180] These two ideas will inform my evaluation of the need component to social justice in Vienna's gender mainstreaming.

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[179] Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice,* 85.

[180] Havey, 107.

Vienna's gender mainstreaming has various methods of first measuring the need of different groups. One example is the surveys that are used to capture the current status quo, the possible uses of public space and the target group-specific requirements when it comes to public space planning. Surveys are widely used in the development stage to assess the needs of the target group before the construction phase of the project begins. This allows for a more informed building process that ensures the outcome of the project matches the needs of the target groups. Another example of this is the park redesign project that involved different types of citizen participation with young girls to make sure that parks were being designed in ways that addressed their needs. Vienna also addresses needs through the lead projects which are meant to address more specific needs. The lead projects are also used to measure previously unidentified or new needs of a population.

Vienna's gender mainstreaming also provides tangible ways to fix the problems identified in the surveys and other methods used to measure needs. For instance, the ways in which public housing complexes are designed to reduce the burden on the caregiver of children. Or, the ways parks are designed to also address the needs and interests of young girls, instead of just focusing on the needs and interests of young boys. Overall, the City of Vienna has used gender mainstreaming to identify and then satisfy needs as they relate gender equality. The areas I explored in my thesis are not an exhaustive list of all of the sources of gender inequality. I also cannot say that all needs are always met in regard to all gender equality issues. But, the City of Vienna has shown a commitment and a competence for understanding what the possible needs of different groups are and then

using the design of urban infrastructure to respond to those needs. Thus, Vienna's gender mainstreaming does an excellent job of fulfilling the first of Harvey's components.

The second component in Harvey's formulation of social justice is the contribution to the common good. In discussing Harvey's work, Soja comments that the allocation of resources can be made more just "when there are positive (socially beneficial) spillover or multiplier effects from the locational or spatial patterns of public and private investments."[181] In this regard, we can think of the contribution to the common good as a conscious effort to make sure the benefits of one project are extended to more than just the target group.

We can evaluate Vienna's gender mainstreaming potential to satisfy the contribution to the common good with a number of considerations. For example, Vienna's commitment to a polycentric urban structure and a city of short distances provides a foundation for contribution to the common good. The idea of multiple urban centers means that there are more resources equally allocated throughout the city. One component of a polycentric urban structure and the city of short distances is mix-use buildings. Vienna maintains that certain structures should provide multiple, different kinds of uses. For instance, the public housing complexes have a variety of social services at the bottom of them such as schools, doctor's offices, and supermarkets. This means that those social services are easily available to the residents of the housing complex as well as anyone else in the close vicinity of the complex. Therefore, the investments made into the housing complex provide spillover benefits for the entire

[181] Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice,* 85.

community. Another example is Vienna's emphasis on creating a barrier-free city. A city without physical barriers provides obviously easier mobility for people with decreased mobility. But, reducing physical barriers also is beneficial to other groups such as caregivers with strollers or caregivers walking young children. A city with decreased barriers also provides overall better and easier mobility for everyone. Thus, Vienna's gender mainstreaming does have targeted groups for these improvements to the urban environment. But, the benefits of these improvements extend beyond just the target groups and greatly contributes to the common good. Consequently, Vienna's gender mainstreaming does directly satisfy the contribution to the common good component of Harvey's argument.

The third component is merit. As mentioned earlier, merit considerations were deemed conditional upon the context. Vienna's gender mainstreaming has specific examples of merit as consideration of this component relates to the idea that "individuals need adequate security if they are able to contribute meaningfully to the common good and if they are able to allocate their productive capacity to fulfill needs."[182] An example of this kind of merit consideration is the creation of maps to help school children navigate to school safely. These maps speak to the merit of the children as well as to the caretaker. We can apply the merit component to this situation because both the children and the caretaker are in this social position independent of their own choosing. Meaning, a child cannot control the fact they are a child and a caregiver largely cannot control the fact that they have a child to care for. The children are not able to fully contribute to the common

[182] Harvey, 107.

good or allocate their productive capacity if they are not able to safely get to school. The caretaker's burden of taking a child to school is reduced when maps are made available to teach children how to walk by themselves. This reduction in burden then allows caretakers to have more time to do things that contribute to the common good and allows them to allocate their productive capacity elsewhere. While this merit consideration is *helpful*, it is unclear whether this merit consideration is *necessary*. Another example of merit consideration could be the additional transportation considerations that the City of Vienna considers in regard to people with reduced mobility. As mentioned above, the City of Vienna has heavily emphasized making public transportation barrier-free. This is an example of how the additional allocation of resources is justified if the resources are needed to overcome difficult situations. Vienna's gender mainstreaming does not have the city-specific examples of merit considerations such as the example mentioned in Chapter 1 about allocating additional resources for infrastructure in hurricane-prone areas. This does not mean, however, that merit considerations are not important. In the ordering of criteria, merit still remains last and does not significantly affect the evaluation of Vienna's gender mainstreaming under the urbanization of social justice.

Overall, Vienna's gender mainstreaming does satisfy the first two components of Harvey's argument, need and the contribution to the common good. The third component, merit, is present in Vienna's gender mainstreaming and does add important considerations. Merit considerations, however, are not as integral as the other two components in determining the extent of the socialization of social justice. Now that the

first part of Jian, Luo, and Chan's figure has been evaluated, we can now move on to the next aspect.

The next part of the spatial justice framework is physical justice which is characterized by the equal distribution of high-quality resources. The first part is equal distribution. In regard to Vienna's mainstreaming, we can turn again to the importance of polycentric urban structure and a city of short distances. These two ideas speak to the fact that resources are evenly distributed throughout the city based on the commitment to ensuring that a given resource is never too far away. Another example of even distribution is through gender budgeting because of how gender budgeting ensures that the distribution of resources is being executed in a way that accounts for the resources needed to achieve gender equality. Therefore, gender budgeting serves as a built-in mechanism for making sure that there is even distribution of financial resources. The pilot projects can be seen as another example of even distribution of resources. A pilot project is used to gauge how certain groups react to different projects being implemented. The results of the pilot project dictate what resources and how much of a given resource needs to be allocated to meet the needs of that group. Thus, the pilot projects are used in an effective manner that dictates how the rest of resource allocation should proceed.

In terms of the equal distribution of high-quality resources, Vienna does an excellent job. As shown in the chapter above, gender mainstreaming in Vienna is kept constant by the checklists and the criteria requirements that have been formulated over the years based on different public projects. The checklists and criteria requirements ensure that each new construction project is going to be up to par with similar projects.

Additionally, the juries are another way to ensure that high-quality resources are being distributed. The juries rely on the vote and opinions of a collective body to verify that a project meets the requirements based on checklists or other specified requirements. Therefore, the checklists and criteria requirements are one step to make sure high-quality resources are there. The juries provide an additional step to make sure that those ideas are actually being implemented. As a result, based on the components of gender mainstreaming that I analyzed in my thesis, Vienna does meet the components of physical justice in terms of even distribution of resources as well as the even distribution of high-quality resources.

The final component of the spatial justice framework is the right to the city. As I mentioned in the previous chapters, the right to the city takes on different meanings in different contexts and for different groups of people. For the purpose of this analysis of gender mainstreaming in Vienna, I will be analyzing the different aspects of Vienna's gender mainstreaming as they relate to the goals of the right to the city. A central component of the right to the city is a shared voice in decision-making processes. This component is also heavily emphasized in spatial justice more broadly. Vienna's gender mainstreaming has a couple of examples of this shared decision making. First, the juries and the competitions are an excellent example of creating spaces for diverse voices to control the decision-making process when it comes to how the allocation of resources will be implemented. The juries and competitions invite previously unheard voices to submit their designs for competitions. Additionally, the juries are composed of both men and women to make sure that the decisions are intended to benefit both genders. Second,

the citizen participation in development phases for projects is another example of a shared voice in decision making. The participation ensures that the groups that are meant to receive the benefits of the project are given an active role in the actual design of the project.

Gender mainstreaming itself as well as its implementation in Vienna both have important implications for a spatial justice approach to social justice in the city. First, gender mainstreaming is an interesting approach to gender equality because of its focus on productive and reproductive work as they relate to paid and unpaid labor. The emphasis on prioritizing unpaid work speaks directly to the problems often found in cities. Vienna took this emphasis on unpaid work to mean that their urban infrastructure should be redesigned in ways that more easily facilitate the work of caretakers. This priority on the work of caretakers heavily influenced the ways Vienna approached mobility concerns, safety concerns, and the overall creation of user-friendly spaces. Although gender mainstreaming is situated in a gender binary, the way Vienna has emphasized the work of "caretakers" has made it so gender mainstreaming concerns can extend beyond a binary and more effectively respond to anyone in a caretaking role. Therefore, the importance of caretakers is one way in which Vienna has taken gender mainstreaming and made it more of an inclusive idea that works to remedy injustices in regards to facilitating unpaid work, regardless of the gender of the worker.

Soja states that his objective for the spatial justice theory is, "to stimulate new ways of thinking about and acting to change the unjust geographies in which we live."[183]

[183] Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice*, 5.

Within the context of gender mainstreaming in Vienna, the unjust geographies were initially considered in terms of paid and unpaid work. The results of the attempts to remedy these unjust geographies produced benefits far beyond their initial goals. In this regard, Vienna is an example of how focusing on one source of unjust geographies can enhance the overall degree of social justice within a city. This is not to say, however, that Vienna's gender mainstreaming is perfect.

The fact that gender mainstreaming is based on a gender binary is itself limiting. There have been attempts to make more inclusive planning theories. One example of this is Equality Mainstreaming which, "opens the promise of greater consideration of LGBT issues by decision-makers."[184] Equality Mainstreaming is less prominent than gender mainstreaming. A combination of the two perspectives, however, could be a way to capitalize on the prevalence of gender mainstreaming but involve components that extend beyond a gender binary. A major obstacle to overcome, though, is that gender mainstreaming remains in a binary because the United Nations still uses a binary definition of gender.[185] Therefore, this limitation of gender mainstreaming will remain until the definition of gender is changed.

The work that I have presented in this thesis demonstrates the important implications of gender mainstreaming. The way Vienna has implemented gender

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[184] "Equality Mainstreaming Fact Sheet," ILGA Europe, 2007, https://www.ilga-europe.org/resources/ilga-europe-reports-and-other-materials/equality-mainstreaming-fact-sheet-2007.

[185] Katelyn Jones and Olivia Shinners, "Opinion – It's Time to Redefine Gender Mainstreaming," E-International Relations, September 14, 2020, https://www.e-ir.info/2020/09/14/opinion-its-time-to-redefine-gender-mainstreaming/.

mainstreaming could also easily be applied in a way that is not gender specific. For instance, the idea of facilitating work for "caregivers." Caregivers as a phrase is gender neutral. While there are certain gendered assumptions that dominate the way caregivers are thought of, work can be done to reorient the way people think about caregivers while still maintaining the work Vienna is doing to ensure that caregivers can move more easily throughout the city. Further, the idea of gender mainstreaming began as a gender-specific action plan, as noted above, with the creation of the Women's Office and other heavily gendered organizations and objectives. Over the course of the implementation of gender mainstreaming, however, the City of Vienna has focused less on gender-specific ways to improve the city and has instead focused more on ways to improve the city for everyone. Therefore, the City of Vienna is an important model of how a theory can be implemented and then develop in ways that far surpass the initial expectations.

To conclude, in this thesis I covered various conceptions of social justice as they relate to the urban environment. With a specialized focus on spatial justice, I articulated a more universal understanding of social justice in the city and examined how that more universal approach can be applied via spatial planning. Then, gender mainstreaming in Vienna was used as a case study for ways that the City of Vienna has achieved social justice through spatial considerations. Finally, I connected the components of spatial justice to the specific examples of gender mainstreaming in Vienna and demonstrated the successes of Vienna's gender mainstreaming as they relate to the purpose of spatial justice. In the end, I have attempted to demonstrate the ways in which the City of Vienna

can be a valuable model of how social justice for men, women, and everyone, can be actualized in the physical spaces of cities.

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